# The German Tribune

Hamburg, 7 September 1986
Twenty-fifth year - No. 1242 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858


## US pressures Europe over deficit: more is at stake

The dispute between Bonn and Washington over the best way for each country to stimulate the world economy has occasionally assumed the character of a dispute over economic policy dogma.

The United States accuses the Federal Republic of Germany of not doing enough to boost its domestic economy.

A further lowering of interest rates, Washington claims, is needed before talks can take place on how to fix the *dollar exchange rate at a level acceptable to both sides.*

Such a move would help improve international competitiveness.

Bonn generally replies by pointing out that Washington overestimates Bonn's ability to act as a "locomotive" for the world economy.

To heed Washington's recommendations, it says, would undermine the successful stability policy pursued by the government in Bonn.

What is more, Bonn maintains, all the United States is doing is to pass on its own problems, i.e. its huge balance-of-*trade and budget deficits, to other countries.*

The problem is exacerbated on the German side by the fact that Social Democrats and trade unions, which are not generally all that willing to take note of what the USA recommends, are urging the Bonn government to follow American advice.

They feel that American demands resemble their own for national economic and job creation programmes.

The political dimension of this dispute, however, is rarely appreciated and very rarely discussed.

In May this year David Aaron, one of President Jimmy Carter's former security advisers, pointed out this fact during a discussion organised by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Bonn.

He reminded listeners that the United States pays an annual $135bn on Europe's defence.

If the corresponding expenditures for Japanese and South Korean defence are included the resultant figure is almost as high as the American budget deficit.

In view of such figures it is hardly surprising, said Aaron, that the USA calls upon its European allies to do more to relieve the United States or at least provide some kind of economic compensation.

America's problems are not just "home-made".

This line of argument cannot be simply dismissed, although it need not necessarily involve going along with certain economic policy remedies designed to support the US economy.

Europe can *no longer ignore the fact* that the pressure on the Reagan Administration to reduce the deficit, which Europe all to readily supports, will have long-term implications for the American contribution to Europe's defence.

Not much attention is currently being paid to this aspect, since there are hopes that disarmament talks with the Soviet *Union will result in reduced defence* spending burdens.

Europe, however, also shows little foresight on other issues too.

Europe is still wasting its resources.

Within the framework of the Common Agricultural Policy of the European Community, for example, it still spends huge sums of money on its surplus production and then has to subsidise the products down to the level of world market prices.

This surplus not only impairs the sales prospects of poorer countries, but also places a strain on relations with the United States.

Europe at any rate cannot complain about US subsidisation of cereals sales to the Soviet Union if it does something which is no better.

American farmers have been complaining for a long time about the fact *that countries for which the USA provides* substantial defence spending are edging their products off the market via unfair trade practices.

The Australian Prime Minister recently forwarded a similar argument.

Not only did he criticise the United States because of its subsidisation policy, but also complained bitterly that Australia now finds itself in a trade war with Europe.

Europe also reveals a lack of political responsibility in other respects.

Like Japan it does allow enough goods from developing countries to enter its markets.

What is more, it does not do enough in the field of development aid.

It still channels too little capital to developing countries or international financial institutions involved in development aid.

American loans to indebted developing countries are higher than Europe's or Japan's, in fact too high in many cases.

In the long run development aid cannot be provided just by allowing refugees from all over the world to enter the country.

The usual arguments against development aid are well-known.

One of them is that there is still plenty to do at home.

This, however, is a point of view which is not tenable over a longer period of time.

Whether in the fields of energy policy or welfare state benefits, where the Federal Republic of Germany adopts a leading international position, it is no longer possible just to use our resources to *improve our own situation* without at the same time upsetting the balance of the international economy.

Politics is an international business.

Another European shortcoming which weakens its overall ability is a purely political problem.

Apparently, Europe is still not certain whether success in the field of political integration would only give the United States an alibi to reduce the degree *of its own commitment in a then more* independent and powerful Europe.

The Americans could, on the other hand, at some stage feel that they have had enough of a Europe which is bogged down in national rivalries.

A growing number of Americans, it would seem, now feel that Europe would do well to stand on its own two feet.

The demands Washington makes of Europe indicate that Americans feel that Europe can achieve a lot more than Europeans themselves believe.

In the final analysis, the issue will not be decided by convictions alone.

Sheer necessity will compel the United States to demand greater international political responsibility from Europe.

*In the long run Europe will not be able* to afford the luxury of illusions and laxity.

Europe has not even exhausted its possibilities in purely economic fields.

The achievement of a common European internal market, which would clearly result in greater importing and *exporting capacities, is still progressing* at a snail's pace.

This question also has a political dimension which is often underestimated.

Europe does not do enough thinking about its own position.

Let us hope that it does not have to do so under the *pressure* of a more dynamic Soviet policy and its resultant influence.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 31 August 1986)



PRESIDENT Paul Biya of Cameroon (left) is welcomed to Bonn by President Richard von Weizsäcker. President Biya was assured that the Federal Republic would do all it could to help in the wake of the volcano disaster in which 1,700 people died from gas poisoning. (Photo: AP)

## Spectacular Wall *break brings* home a reality

**An East German man has made a daring escape to the West with his girlfriend and small child by driving a truck at high speed through the border installations at Checkpoint Charly. The truck carried a full load of gravel to give it weight and the cab was reinforced with steel plating. Part of the Wall was demolished as the man drove through a fusillade of shots from East German border guards.**

Just after the 25th anniversary of the con- struction of the Berlin Wall, people on both sides were reminded that Germany's ugliest edifice is as inhuman as ever.

It is becoming more and more impermeable. The risks would-be escapers must take are growing.

The man who drove through the wall is a hero. *Any would-be imitators will find* it much tougher.

This is part of the bitter reality of the German situation.

One side tries to make the border even more inpenetrable, whereas the other seeks all possible ways of overcoming it.

*Herbert Wegener*

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 30 August 1986)

## IN THIS ISSUE

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

# Limits to the meaning of non-alignment

On 26 August the member states of the nonaligned movement, representing 102 countries and four billion people, convened in Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe.

The meeting was not given much coverage by the West German press.

Even the *Financial Times* did not feel that the opening of this eighth conference of nonaligned states was worth a headline.

As the conference is continuing into September a few reports and editorials can still be expected.

The question is, however, what has happened to the fascination which surrounded such Third World meetings in the days when personalities such as Tito, Nehru, Sukarno and Nasser embodied the spirit of the nonaligned movement?

Let us look back at the 1950s, when the Cold War was at its most icy.

At the beginning of that decade John Foster Dulles, President Eisenhower's Secretary of State, condemned the nonaligned states as "immoral".

In reality, this was a compliment for the "sinners", which refused to nail their political colours to the mast of any major power.

Around about the same time the First World (America) and the Second World (Soviet Union) began wooing the Third World.

*The Nehrus and Nassers of this world* were courted by East and West with gestures and money.

Even Konrad Adenauer travelled to Delhi, albeit with the rather provincial intention of gaining India's support for Bonn's policy of non-recognition vis-à-vis East Germany.

It was a boom period for the Third World, since the Cold War was the "basis for business" between East and West and competition between the two shifted from the rigid power blocs in Europe to Asia and Africa.

The Third World owes the rapid acceleration of its decolonialisation to the increased "recruitment" efforts of the two superpowers during this period.

We need only recall the unmoved manner in which America nipped the penultimate stand of European colonialism in the bud during the Suez War in 1956 by joining forces with Moscow to drive England and France out of Egypt.

Even then it was obvious that the importance of the nonaligned states was a result of the ideological war between the two superpowers and that the latter only wanted the support of smaller states in order to intrumentalise them.

Khrushchev is reputed to have barked at one politician who proudly told him that he was a Communist by saying: "I'm not interested in your philosophy. The fact that you are Indian is enough for me."

The significance of the nonaligned states was bound to dwindle as it became more and more clear that they were neither nonaligned to a political bloc nor an independent bloc themselves.

In Harare Saudis meet Cubans and Vietnamese, i.e. virtual allies of the United States on the one hand, and countries which are only non-members of the Eastern bloc for form's sake on the other.

Iraqis and Iranians will sit together in the same room, two countries which since 1980 have been wedged tight in a bloody conflict which has lasted longer than the Second World War.

Then there is the capitalist "band of four", Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea and Hong Kong, with their growth rates of seven per cent — and the dozens of countries which were hoping to control the market and are now struggling to survive.

The bold (and nebulous) ideology of a "third path" between capitalism (the West) and socialism (the East) in the fields of economic and foreign policy once gave the "nonaligned" an identity and a mission.

Today, the *Realpolitik* of this world has torn apart this network of mutual interests.

Rajiv Ghandi, the Prime Minister of India, will be handing over the chairmanship of the nonaligned movement for a three year period to his colleague Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe.

But how nonaligned is India with its 680 million inhabitants, a country which virtually set up the nonaligned movement?

Pakistan lurks on its north-western borders, China in the North-East, both countries enjoying the support of the United States.

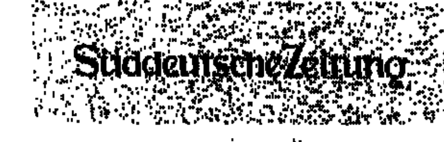
Consequently, interests rather than ideals have determined India's foreign policy, which has tended to support the Soviet Union over the past 20 years.

Egypt, together with India and Yugoslavia one of the founder countries of the nonaligned movement, has only been able to demonstrate its independence twice: in the 1950s when it drew up an alliance with the Soviet Union, and in the 1970s when it drew up an alliance with the USA.

And what about the power of oil?

*It first collapsed in the Gulf War and* was then forced to bow to the forces of the market.

No-one now regards Iran as the "po-




liceman" (Jimmy Carter) of the Gulf region.

Nouveaux riches OPEC countries such as Mexico and Nigeria have not become the major powers of the future, but petitioners spared bankruptcy only by a very shaky international financial system.

The last have not become the first, indeed quite the opposite is true.

No-one has suffered more under the thumb of the OPEC than the "Fourth World", the numerous countries which can afford neither oil, fertilizer nor high-interest loans.

Admittedly, it is here that the nonaligned summiteers can expect the biggest consolation.

The falling price of oil has also led to falling interest rates.

The end of the big recession means growth in the Third World, since the West absorbs 80 per cent of their exports and almost 100 per cent of foreign capital flows back to Third World countries from the West.

Such feedback effects, however, require both open markets in the First World and political stability in the Third World.

A look at the situation in the Persian Gulf, Africa or Central America shows that the situation today is not much more stable than when Tito, Nehru and Nasser set up the movement of nonaligned states in 1961.

*Josef Joffe*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 27 August 1986)

# Iran: collective suicide in religious blindness

Ayatollah Khomeini still seems to have at least one aim in life: to destroy his personal arch-enemy, Saddam Hussein.

Iran's most senior arbiter, Khomeini is not interested in peace moves; his struggle is until the bitter end, and his wartime objective is to fight until the ruler in neighbouring Iraq either commits suicide or flees the country.

This was the basic tenor of the Teheran radio broadcast by the man many regard as a *divinely* inspired immam.

Since everything in Iran is subjected to his will, one can only interpret his latest remarks as an announcement of a new military offensive — a gruesome prospect.

The subjects of the 86 year-old religious leader are recruiting Iran's final contingent in schools and villages.

For years now the blood of schoolchildren has been sacrificed for the sake of a fanatic religious cause on the minefields laid by the Iraqi regime, itself supported by force of arms.

Khomeini now hopes that the strength of his troops will be doubled via the recruitment of schoolchildren.

The young generation of Iran, the country's future, is being sent to the slaughter in the name of religious madness and an old man's private revenge.

Teheran can only pin its hopes on the sheer superiority of numbers of its soldiers and the pasdaran, Khomeini's religious SS.

Iraq has by far the superior technology and the latest air raids by the Iraqi airforce on the new oil terminal on the island of Sirri, which the Iranians believed unreachable, show that Baghdad can hit Iran's foreign trade very hard.

Khomeini's forces cannot stop them.

Teheran is running out of money; oil revenue has plummeted and the dried-up foreign exchange reserves can no longer finance the war against Iraq.

The announced offensive is no more than an act of desperation.

Those who joyfully go to war are committing collective suicide in their religious blindness.

An aged religious leader applauds them wildly for doing so.

What started seven years ago as the promising departure of a contradictory society into a new age has now become a march of lemmings to their doom.

The Iranian revolution, born of the struggle against the shah dictatorship and the social spirit of Schiitism, sustained by the social misery of the farmers, workers and mostazafin (the poor driven from their land) and the intelligensia's longing for freedom, carried along by the bazaar dealers, the craftsmen and young industrialists, has become a regime of terror on a Cambodian scale.

The Ayatollah and his mullahs can compete with Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge or Adolf Hitler for the inglorious fame of having wiped out large sections of their own people.

Were it not for the war with Iraq the regime of Iranian obscurants would have long since been swept aside.

It can still condemn any signs of resistance or opposition as treason and praise the dictatorship as patriotic and willed by God.

Should this last major offensive prove a failure, however, this may have been the Khomeini regime's last act.

Domestic opposition already exists.

Many doctors are on strike, albeit for professional reasons rather than for the sake of freedom.

The bazaar dealers are rebellious and the lack of food, i.e. hunger, is making many people grumble in Iran's capital Teheran.

However, as opposed to the last days of the Pahlawi dictatorship, there is no organised opposition whose ideas and demands could ignite the ire of the masses.

The National Resistance Council which once united all Republican anti-Khomeini opposition groups, has become an empty shell.

Its driving force, the mujaheddin, has a political programme but no tolerance.

It is currently fostering a tremendous personality cult for its leader Massud Radjawi, and those groups which refuse to join in are given a very rough time.

The mujaheddin claim that 50,000 of its members have been killed and 150,000 are political prisoners.

Yet the mujaheddin is still active.

Its development towards an ideologically intolerant party is not a good omen for Iran's future.

It has already dissociated itself from the Nationalist Democrats, the bourgeois left-wingers, the *Socialists*, the Kurdist Democrats and intellectual exiles.

Paving the way for a new period of autocratic rule?

A third of the mujaheddin's fighters are women, an astonishing sign of political emancipation in Iran.

The main target of rebellion are the mullahs and their sexist policies, whose symbols such as the wearing *of veils* were supported seven years ago by the mujaheddin as a form of democratic protest against the shah.

It soon turned into a new serfdom in the name of a different ideology.

The claim that Mirjam Azdanlou has become a leader with equal rights via her marriage with Massud Radjawi is not even far-fetched in view of the personality cult surrounding Radjawi.

Other opponents of the Khomeini regime and the dictatorship of the mullahs get bogged down in sectarianism or withdraw into the ivory towers of theoretical analysis.

They are unable to give Iranian society the orientation and leadership it needs. Opposition is still chaotic.

The greater chaos caused by war and dictatorship, however, makes sure that opposition grows.

The most powerful opposition group is the mujaheddin.

Rosa Luxemburg once referred to the only possible alternative: socialism or barbarism.

Iran is centuries away from socialism, whereas barbarism has already arrived.

A third possible solution, namely the rule of the mujaheddin, is a sorrowful alternative for Iran.

*Karl Grobe*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 26 August 1986)

The German Tribune
Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 23 Schoene Aussicht, D-2000 Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 1, Telex: 02-14733.
Editor-in-chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English language sub-editor: Simon Burnett. — Distribution manager: Georgine Picone.
Advertising rates list No. 15
Annual subscription DM 45
Printed by CW Niemeyer-Druck, Hameln.
Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc., 540 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.
Articles in THE GERMAN TRIBUNE are translated from the original text and published by agreement with leading newspapers in the Federal Republic of Germany.
In all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper, between asterisks, above your address.



■ SPD CONFERENCE

# Pledge to get rid of nuclear energy

**The Social Democrats called at their conference in Nuremberg for an end to cooperation with America in space weapons research. If elected in January, they would have America remove its nuclear missiles and halt further deployment. They would also ask the Soviet Union to cut its nuclear missiles facing Europe to 1979 levels. Under an SPD government, West Germany would remain in Nato. All nuclear power plants would be closed within 10 years. Chancellor candidate Johannes Rau said West Germany would remain a close partner and ally of America, but on "equal terms". Bonn would not abandon its liberal asylum laws but would act to obtain much quicker processing of applications. Unemployment was a major topic at the conference and Rau is likely to campaign heavily on economic issues.**

Two almost synonymous political catchwords have made their mark on the general election campaign: *Wende* and *Wechsel*.

Both basically mean change. The term *Wende* was first used by the conservative parties and the FDP in the early 1980s to indicate their desire for a fundamental change of government policy.

The use of the word *Wechsel* is the brainchild of the SPD and more specifically denotes its desire for a change of government.

At the moment, however, the big difference between the two catchwords is that most people know what Chancellor Kohl's *Wende* has achieved and more or less know where it will lead, whereas no-one really knows what the SPD's proclaimed *Wechsel* will entail.

During their party conference in Nuremberg the Social Democrats made frequent reference to their ambitious yet still rather hollow objective.

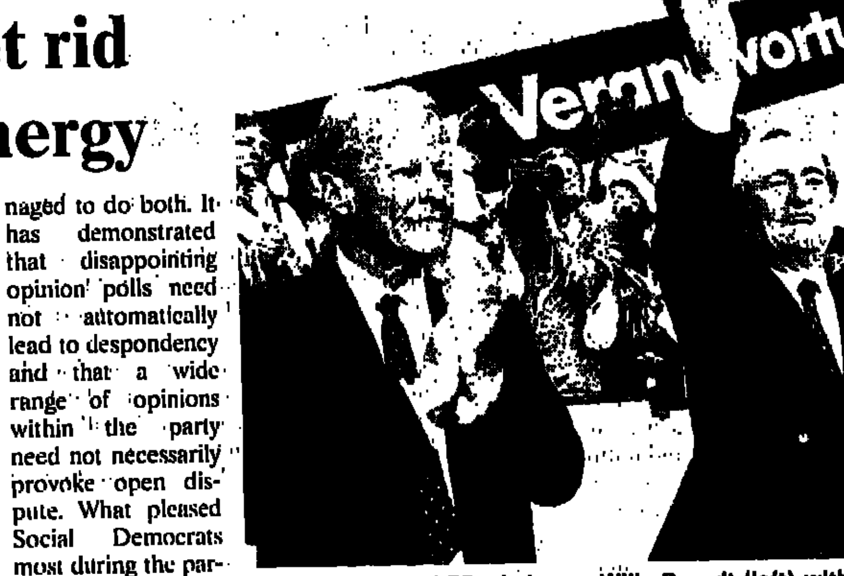
Shadow Chancellor Johannes Rau has helped his party overcome its summer depression.

The party conference was marked by an air of self-confidence.

In view of the party's many recent setbacks this could not be taken for granted.

Many observers were wondering whether the SPD would be able to move out of its doldrums and close ranks.

The party has (for the time being?) managed to do both. It has demonstrated that disappointing opinion polls need not automatically lead to despondency and that a wide range of opinions within the party need not necessarily provoke open dispute. What pleased Social Democrats most during the party conference was the aplomb shown by Johannes Rau. Many of his party colleagues may well have had their doubts recently about Rau's political qualities and were awaiting his speech in Nuremberg with bated breath.



**Onwards to 87. SPD chairman Willy Brandt (left) with the candidate for Chancellor, Johannes Rau.** (Photo: Sven Simon)

Rau convinced them that he was the right choice as Shadow Chancellor.

He appealed to both the heads and hearts of his colleagues, showing himself to be a sensitive and resolute standard-bearer.

The party will not find it difficult to pursue the "task of the SPD" outlined by Rau.

Although it bears his own personal mark it basically represents a compromise between left-wing and right-wing convictions.

The Social Democrats have cleared one hurdle, but the fight for electoral popularity will now begin in earnest.

Apart from its role of challenger, one of the SPD's most serious handicaps in this election campaign is the uncertainty about the internal balance between left-wing and right-wing positions, between idealists and pragmatists, and between the supporters and opponents of collaboration with the Greens.

Voters will also find it difficult to understand another dilemma in the party's election promises.

The SPD says that it will increase social prosperity, but does not demand that people work harder.

It says that social solidarity is absolutely essential, but fails to mention the aspect of competition characteristic of West German society.

The call for greater social justice does credit to the Social Democrats.

But who is going to foot the bill?

Above all, "progressive middle-of-the-road" voters, one of the SPD's target groups, will ask themselves this question.

The technocratic and scientific intelligentsia and the "entrepreneurial entrepreneurs" may support many of Social Democratic ideas.

Never before has the SPD done so much to secure the votes of these groups.

They may also back the SPD's demands for greater independence vis-à-vis the United States, for equal rights for men and women, and even for less restrictive demonstration and asylum laws.

But what are these "social climbers" likely to feel about an extension of the welfare state and the introduction of special taxes on higher-income earners?

Rau is undoubtedly a brilliant campaigner and a liberal, compassionate and conciliatory politician.

So far he has not asked anyone for their sweat or even tears.

But all voters know what the future holds, regardless of whether the change is a *Wende* or *Wechsel*.

The change from an industrial to a services society, the equal treatment of women or ecological renewal are bound to demand sacrifices.

The sum total of majorities, ranging from the opponents of nuclear energy to the advocates of disarmament and the defenders of civil rights, which the SPD feels it has on its side, is unlikely to add up to an overall majority in Bonn.

However, the way the party presented itself in Nuremberg it remains a factor to be reckoned with.

*Dieter Buhl*

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 29 August 1986)

# Rau plagued by self doubt

The Social Democrats' candidate for Chancellor, Johannes Rau, is doubtful about his ability to win the election.

He deserves credit for not hiding his doubts, which basically relate to the support for his candidature for chancellorship within the SPD itself.

But whether his honesty is likely to weaken rather than strengthen the solidarity he is hoping for remains to be seen.

The party conference in Nuremberg did not answer this question.

Rau seems to have more self doubt than any would-be Chancellor has ever had. Even Helmut Schmidt was unable to give him new heart.

Schmidt suffered one of the most bitter defeats in his political career at the hands of his own party in 1983, when they left him and six other colleagues standing in the cold on the missile deployment issue.

Maybe he thought of this when Rau promised that if he was elected Chancellor he would do all he could to make sure that the number of nuclear missiles on both sides was reduced to the 1979 level.

It was this level which persuaded Schmidt to call for more missile deployment.

Even though Rau does not intend just being an "executor" of party resolutions the fact that he bowed to the discernible will of the Social Democratic majority on the question of the gradual phase-out of nuclear energy may prove more binding later on than he would currently care to admit.

However, neither Rau nor Schmidt are likely to labour under the misapprehension that a party such as the SPD, which is characterised by lively internal discussions, will be able to abide by programmatic stringency.

As Schmidt pointed out, "complete solidarity for the whole four years after the election" would be asking too much of Social Democrats.

Whether they want to or not they will in future have to bear in mind that if they win the election and thus the support of the political centre the SPD will have to pursue a centre-oriented policy.

Anything short of this would be deceiving the voters.

*Bernd Brügge*

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 27 August 1986)

# No successor to Brandt as party chairman in sight

For many years the history of the SPD was the history of the party's leaders.

August Bebel, Friedrich Ebert, Kurt Schumacher and (given all the reservations) Erich Ollenhauer were some of the great me in a party whose origins and basic concepts have a fundamentally collective orientation.

The situation during the 1970s and the early 1980s was different.

The triumvirate of Willy Brandt, Herbert Welner and Helmut Schmidt seemed to be correspond more clearly to the SPD's collective roots.

The image of a triumvirate, however, was deceptive right from the start.

It suggested a harmony which rarely existed, since all three members of the triumvirate felt that they were the dominant figure.

Looking back on this period it is also clear that one member of this group was more equal than the others, Willy Brandt.

It is no coincidence that Willy Brandt is still one of the SPD's most prominent members and is likely to remain so in the immediate future.

He has shaped, led and embodied the party in his own inimitable way.

The Nuremberg party conference confirmed his position as party chairman for another two years.

Brandt announced that he then intends retiring.

It looks as if he then realised that his statement was tactically unwise and started to backtrack. It is still not clear who his successor could be.

The impressive speech given by Johannes Rau in Nuremberg showed that he is currently the only possible choice for the position of Shadow Chancellor.

It would jumping to conclusions, however, to deduce from his triumph in Nuremberg that he is also Willy Brandt's natural heir as party chairman.

Hans-Jochen Vogel showed how fast a candidate can become a transitional candidate.

The Social Democratic Party makes different demands on its leaders than the conservative and liberal parties or even the Greens.

A successful SPD chairman must be able over a longer period of time to reconcile the secret and open desires of party members with everyday possibilities as well as achieve artistic feats of integration.

It was therefore a naive simplification for Helmut Schmidt to call upon his colleagues during the Nuremberg conference to choose Rau as their party leader.

Schmidt's line of argument corresponds to his previous attempts to explain his own failure, namely that his career as Chancellor would have developed differently if he had become party chairman.

In reality this would have led to a catastrophe, either for the party or for Schmidt himself, probably for both.

Schmidt was never the kind of politician wanted as party chairman, and it remains to be seen whether Rau will fare any better.

Basic programmatic issues still have to be sorted out before it becomes clear whether Rau can turn out to be a Brandt-style integration figure.

A further prerequisite is success in the general election next year.

Whether Brandt remains party chairman for the next two or four years depends on those factors. Or indeed whether a candidate will emerge from the "next generation".

*Rudolf Grosskopff*

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 31 August 1986)

■ ISSUES

# Bonn acts on asylum poser, but East Berlin airport remains the loophole

Germany's liberal political asylum laws are coming in for increasing *criticism because of the refugee influx.*

Calls for changes to Basic Law, the Constitution, which guarantees asylum applicants a hearing, have been resisted.

Refugees arrive without valid visas and declare themselves to be on the run from persecution.

They are given lodgings while their cases are heard by the courts, something which can take years. The German taxpayer pays for it all.

The biggest problem is Berlin. The East Berlin authorities allow refugees to come with East Bloc airlines to East Berlin and go through to West Berlin.

The border between the two halves of Berlin is a creation of the East Berlin government. The whole of Berlin is regarded in the West as being under four-*power control.*

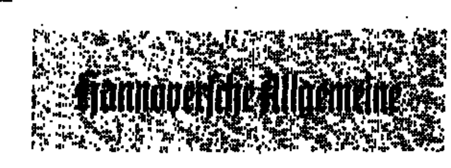
The East Berlin government knows that it has put Bonn in an embarrassing position: if it set up proper controls at *the Berlin-Berlin* border to control the influx of refugees, it would be tantamount to establishing the border as an international one — thus implicitly recognising East Germany as a separate nation with East Berlin as its capital.

Many people and politicans across the political spectrum are feeling uneasy about the consequences of being overrun by refugees.

The most conservative wing of the coalition, the Bavarian CSU party, has called for changes to the constitutional provision guaranteeing applicants for political asylum a legal hearing for their case.

Although there is as *yet no majority* for such a change, the Chancellor has been trying to limit the political damage of this proposal with their liberal FDP *partners.*

The CDU has also come in for criticism from the various churches. And as a party claiming to be the vanguard of christian values, it cannot afford to enter an election year facing flak from



clergy, who like the SPD and the FDP, want no changes to the constitution.

Chancellor Kohl has opted instead for less visible measures to stem the *tide. The FDP will find it difficult to reject them.* Even within the ranks of their own party their is unease at the prospect of such a densely populated land like *Germany having to take in hundreds of* thousands of asylum seekers.

The mood of the public is nervous and reports of racial violence are on the increase.

For many people the biggest fear is that the third world's population explosion will flood the country with refugees.

Other countries have long since tightened up on immigration. Many people think that Germany should do the same.

*The Republic has already taken in 12* million East-bloc refugees and five million guest workers and their families. The feeling is that enough is enough.

Politicians know that the existence of so many foreigners encourages the growth of right radical groups.

It remains to be seen whether proposals by the Free Democrat leader, Martin Bangemann, which have been adopted by the Cabinet will do what he says and bring quick relief.

According to the proposals German embassies in certain countries are to issue fewer tourist visas.

The fact is, however, that 40 *percent* of Ethiopians have already been given one. And how anyway are the authorities supposed to be able to differentiate *authentic asylum applicants* from others.

The plans mean fining airlines which fly people without valid visas. The airlines will also have to foot the bill for return flights of rejected applicants, though this will mean having to change the law.

*However it's not likely to be much of* a remedy. The actual number of foreigners looking for asylum at Frankfurt airport is not that great.

The real loophole is the Schönefeld airport in East Berlin, where the East German and the Russian Aeroflot airline fly people in on the cheap.

They transported more than half of the applicants who turned up this year in Berlin.

Kohl has had to enter into talks with East Berlin on the matter. The Chancellor said that money had not been mentioned. But it's difficult to believe that the carrot of another interest-free loan was not dangled in front of the GDR. The last loan was successfully used to stem the flood of Tamils coming in from *East Berlin.*

These and other measures have to be seen in the context of a change in the legal asylum procedures, on which the Union and the FDP have already reached agreement.

However they do not look too promising either.

It will no longer be possible to involve *oneself in* politics in order to be able to avoid deportation on the grounds that this now puts one at risk in one's own country.

Even the tightening up of work restrictions from a two-year waiting period to a five-year one is unlikely to discourage applicants. They *can quite easily* survive on welfare.

The government hopes that the new law will stop people from coming in who in reality are really economic refugees. The new legal position that an asylum application is invalid, if has been made because of a general emergency situation, or because of a war situation may be constitutionally inadmissible. The materialistic considerations may be going beyond the law.

Unless Article 16 is amended the proposals are unlikely to become law. The FDP are against such a change. They place their hopes in a quicker processing of cases and expelling of rejected applicants.

The reality is that the backlog of cases is growing steadily all the time. And the expulsion of rejected applicants is often not possible for humanitarian *reasons. Those who don't come* under humanitarian reasons *simply go* underground and are *often not* traceable for the authorities.

It would seem as *if the* asylum problem has long since passed the point of no return.

*Werner Birkenmaier*

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 28 August 1986)

# Fines for airlines which fly in refugees without visas

DIE WELT

Airlines which fly people without visas *to West German destinations* stand to be fined 2,000 marks. This is one of several steps agreed by the Bonn Cabinet aimed at cutting the flow of refugees seeking political asylum.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl, in announcing the measures, said asylum applicants will be unable to work for five years after they arrive, an increase of three years on the present ban.

In addition, tourists from certain countries will need to get transit visas if they intend passing through West Germany. This is to stop the practice of people buying a ticket to a further destination and disembarking in Germany and applying for asylum at the airport.

The measures are designed to counteract what is seen by the goverment as abuse of the asylum laws by refugees interested more in economic advancement than avoiding political persecution.

It is intended that genuine refugees will still be able to enjoy the right to political asylum guaranteed by article 16 of *Basic Law, the German constitution.*

Roughly half of the refugees come in through East Berlin to West Berlin and immediately demand political asylum. The rest usually go through the airport in Frankfurt.

Now they will have to wait five years, not two before they can work. And travellers from such countries as Lebanon, Syria, Ghana, Pakistan and Bangladesh will have to get transit visas to pass through a West German airport.

Many refugees book flights to other airports but, on landing in Frankfurt, leave their aircraft to demand asylum.

Diplomatic posts in these countries will tighten up visa procedures. Generally, visas will not be valid for more than two months.

*Airlines and shipping companies will*

Continued on page 6

# The statistics reveal how all roads lead to Germany

Germany has become a Mecca for refugees of all kinds. The United Nations high commissioner for refugees *says Germany is the favourite European* country for refugees.

The figures are graphic: in 1984 there were 35,000 applicants and in 1986 74,000. In the first half of 1986 there were 42,000 applications and another 58,000 are expected.

The nationality breakdown for the first six months this year: 8,900 Palestinians and Lebanese, 7,692 Iranians, 4,384 Turks, 3,911 Poles, 3,338 Indians, 3,081 Ghanaians, 1,875 Sri Lankans and roughly the same number of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis.

The sheer weight of application bogs down the *decision-making process.* About 85,000 are waiting for a decision.

They include 15,068 Sri Lankans, *13,113 Iranians, 8,980* Turks, 8,413 Poles, 5,749 Indians, 5,539 Palestinians and 4,653 Ghanaians.

The speed of decision making depends on the courts. So there are another 130,000 applicants whose cases have been heard and which are waiting for a final decision.

The U.N. Commissioner said the rate of approvals increased from 15.2 percent to 39.7 percent in 1985 but has declined again because Tamils are no longer regarded as politically persecuted.

Afghans and Eritreans have the best chances of being *recognised as persecuted.* Indians, Palestinians and Ghanaians have none.

Non-State organisations point out *that one cannot simply just classify* those turned down as economic or sham refugees.

Last year 10,267 left the Republic before the end of their hearings to apply to an other country or to return home.

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

People applying who come from areas torn by civil war will find themselves not being classified as asylum seekers. As a rule however they are not turned down, because their lives are *threatened.*

Those whose applications are accepted are classified as de facto refugees

The Poles are included under this title, and up till 1985 they *did not need to* apply for a visa to stay here.

The Federal Ministry of the Interior has calculated that Germany has about 670,000 refugees — about one per cent of the population.

There are 130,000 applicants, 270,000 *de facto* refugees, 178,000 from Eastern Europe, 64,800 who have received asylum since 1945, 32,000 from Vietnam, 42,000 *stateless foreigners and about 129,000* family members.

There are an average of about two dependents per applicant. Now, partners and children, as of late, have to make their own application. As a result the figure quoted is often too high.

The UN Commissioner puts the figure for Germany at 134,000.

However the international authority only takes into account those refugees entitled to apply, the contingent refugees and the stateless foreigners.

They also include the 10,000 de facto ones who receive no residence permits because they have already been resident *in another country.* Or because for formal reasons they are not allowed to make an application in Germany.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne 28 August 1986)



■ POLITICS

# Mediocrity takes over in the nation's parliaments

Parliaments in Germany are declining in quality. There are fewer competent experts and more political professionals.

Listening to the speeches makes the point clearly enough. Ten or 20 years ago many speeches were impassioned, rhetorically brilliant and demonstrated an expertise. They also maintained a sense of proportion.

Today, some Bundestag speeches are embarrassing, even debates on vital issues.

The loss of quality is even more pronounced in the *Land* assemblies.

The issues dealt with by the Bundestag are becoming more and more complex — energy policies, pension schemes, arms, European issues. They are moving far away from the level of discussion in the local pub.

The average parliamentarian, who *was traditionally expected to be familiar* with all policy fields and issues, is frequently out of his depth.

Ritual dictates that an MP talks big *even if he doesn't know what he is talking* about.

After all, the parliamentarian is expected to satisfy his party's supporters and make political adversaries look un*informed* and irresponsible.

Who actually becomes a member of *the* Bundestag, how do they get that far and what are their aims?

Most people used to believe that a powerful oligarchy pulled the strings and that some central party command decided who was nominated and elected.

Today it looks as if quite the opposite is true: active party members in the constituencies themselves have the final say, and anyone recommended "upstairs" often stumbles "downstairs".

Of course, prominent personalities *and the "tried and tested"* are also nominated.

But if representatives of this calibre are for some reason unavailable the "provinces" are, metaphorically speaking, promoted.

A conformist all-rounder is chosen rather than a competent man with ex-

Süddeutsche Zeitung

pertise, i.e. preference is given to someone who can best deal with everday "matters" in Bonn.

This leads to a spreading parliamentary mediocrity and a declining force of intellect and even independence of mind.

It is almost fair to refer to a trend, since this process has been taking place for years.

The number of competent experts is declining and the number of political professionals is increasing.

*These professionals are often called ausgebufft,* which could be roughly translated as "shrewd customers", a quality some even regard as a political virtue.

But why have things developed this way?

Money is certainly not the answer, since members of parliament earn good money *and are still held in high esteem.*

In fact, many are probably better off than they were in their former jobs.

The loss of a mandate often leads to a significant social decline.

So why are so few politically talented and interested people keen on a political mandate?

The answer is that nobody is looking for them.

Austrian Social Democrat Rupert Hartl, a prominent jurist and politician from Linz, presented a brutally frank anaylsis of his political experiences in a book recently published.

It describes the selection procedure in the SPÖ, Austria's social democratic party.

The system is primarily dominated and controlled by full-time party secretaries and their cliques.

Any applicant who has not regularly *attended the party meetings hardly* stands a chance.

The person in question, it is then claimed, would appear to have so much *work to do elsewhere that he finds it impossible* to attend important party meetings.

Not someone, therefore, who is suited for an active role in politics.

In other words, says Hartl after 36 years of "inside" experience, professional achievements and successes are often a drawback rather than an advantage for a political career.

Those with the best chance of political careerism are "party, trade union and trade association secretaries, works committee members freed for full-time activity, and those whose jobs give them a lot of spare time.

"This course of events (which often takes place in the backyards of power and intrigue) means that those citizens chosen for political functions are not always the best and most competent."

The party-political environment in Austria is not entirely comparable with the situation in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In Austria there is more corruption and nepotism between party workers, trade unions, trade associations, chambers of industry, administration and state-run firms than in the Federal Republic.

However, local party officials here also prefer people who are always present and available when the constituency discusses this, that and the other.

*Drinking a wine or beer with the locals, informing them about the issues of the day, and getting a feel for the mood of the constituency.*

*All this is very time-consuming, particularly* since some people feel they should also work on many other committees too.

A friendly way of describing this approach to politics is the "cultivation of the political landscape", trying to effect the political integration of large sections of the population.

Nevertheless, there are limits; election results show that the loyalty to one's "own" political camp is receding, the number of regular voters is on the wane.

The enormous number of parliamentarians also has an adverse effect on quality.

Apart from the 500 or so members of the Bundestag there are over 1,300 members of state assemblies and just as many regional parliamentarians.

Where is all the talent expected to come from?

Half the number of people in the parliaments would suffice, elected for a period of six years.

*Since many representatives of the* people have virtually nothing left to do or decide on, they involve themselves in activities of all kinds in various committees, councils and associations, often running on the spot.

Anyone who wants to get something done politically steers clear of such feigned *busy-ness* and seeks a more direct route to the corridors of power, to the ministers, party chairmen, head offices, and apparatus of political bureaucracy.

It is there that we find many talented and eminent people, who, were they to sit in parliament, would be unable to achieve anything.

The good turnouts at elections indicate that people are not turning away from politics and that they still attach considerable importance to the work of parliaments.

This is no cause for parliamentarians *to start slapping themselves on the back.*

There has been a clear loss of authority and competence during recent years, many parliamentarians themselves admit this fact.

If parliaments wish to regain their reputations they must seek more political talent.

Perhaps yet another of the popular parliamentary commissions of inquiry should be set up, this time to investigate the work of parliaments themselves.

*Hans Heigert*

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 23 August 1986)

# Family-man Rau criticised: can public, private life coexist?

Former government spokesman Klaus Bölling has violated Social Democrat solidarity by openly attacking the party's candidate for Chancellor, Johannes Rau, in a book just published.

How Rau and his party will respond remains to be seen. And only Bölling can say whether he is all that happy with what he has done just six months before the general election.

Bölling says that Johannes Rau has *repeatedly stated that his family is just* as important to him as politics.

In Bölling's opinion this attitude may be realistic for a politician who is a fa*ther-figure in a regional government,* but is unrealistic in the tougher atmosphere in Bonn.

A leading politician there, says Bölling, in particular if he is Chancellor, must put his private life last.

Anyone who is startled at such a claim must do two things.

To begin with, he must ask himself whether Bölling's argument is based on fact. Even if the argument is only partly true the situation must be changed.

A situation in which a politician's wife and children are regarded as obstacles to his political career is unacceptable.

In all probability there is some truth about Bölling's claimed incompatibility between politics in Bonn and a politi*cian's private life.*

The same can be said in other countries too. Anyone who opts for public life must expect certain restrictions on *personal liberties.* But restriction does not mean elimination.

People have to make sacrifices of some kind in other jobs too, particularly in executive positions.

Every man and woman must carefully consider how many restrictions of his or her private life his professional career is worth.

There is another aspect in the Federal *Republic. can only claim with reservations* to be the centre of political life.

Many people have written about this, but very few have considered its implic*ations.*

One such implication is that many politicians, most of whom are full-time, work in Bonn but generally live hundreds of kilometres outside of Bonn.

It is obvious that this does not help family life. It often leads to marriage problems or even divorce. It can also mean that many children hardly know their fathers or mothers.

All this raises the question of whether, in the final analysis, parliamentary democracy as practised by professional politicians is not in fact make inhuman demands on them.

The political ancestors of today's democracy had no such problems.

Most of the members of parliament in the 18th century came from the upper classes anyway and regarded political and parliamentary activities as a hobby.

Most of them were well-to-do and did not have to earn a living as politicians.

*They had nannies for their children* and withdrew into private life later on in life.

Things are more complicated today. *A professional politician not only has to* pursue his political business in the country's capital, but also has to work in his constituency over the weekends to make sure he is nominated and possibly elected at the next election.

He or she, therefore, has little time for a real private life. Politics is no longer a hobby, but a tough business.

This is not only true for the head of *government and his ministers.*

Leading politicians, some may object, have generally passed the age where they have young children.

*But there are exceptions to the rule.* Johannes Rau being one of the better-known examples.

What is more, fifty year-olds still have a private and family life. Some can organise their lives better than others.

Some try to turn a necessity into a virtue and take their families with them during their political and election commitments.

These are no more than stopgap measures. Is there a way out?

Can politics and private life be made compatible in such a way that neither suffers?

One solution would be more political decentralisation.

E.F. Schumacher's book *Small is Beautiful* was right on one point: if many political decisions are moved back to the people directly affected by those decisions this would enable many politicians to rediscover their private lives.

Politics would become a more human affair. This sounds Utopian, and probably is. But such ideas should not be dismissed outright.

*A political system which forces politicians to accept inhuman working conditions* is in the long run bound to lead to an inhuman society for all citizens.

Our political parties would be well advised to think about this problem and try to find some kind of solution.

*Tillacus*

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 26 August 1986)

■ SOCIETY

# 20 million sporting types; 30,000 people with TB: it's all in the yearbook

More than 20 million people in the Federal Republic play some kind of sport, says the 1986 Statistical Yearbook.

*Almost 17 million people* are members of sports clubs. This all goes to show that sport is the biggest citizens' initiative in this country — that, at least, is what Horst Waffenschmidt, parliamentary secretary of state in the Bonn Interior Ministry, said when he officially presented the book in Bonn.

He pointed out that the number of people actively involved in volleyball, tennis and dancing had increased threefold in each case during the last 10 years.

Soccer is still the most popular sport (4.2 million members), followed by gymnastics (1.1 million) and shooting (1 million members of riflemen's clubs).

Almost half a million people play organised soccer with clubs.

Waffenschmidt claimed that official statistics are "needed every day in a variety of policy fields".

They provide a "treasure trove of elementary data on important areas of life," he said.

Statistics, he added, help understand social, economic and ecological prob-



lems. The figures "give everyone the opportunity to keep a critical eye on government activities and control their effectiveness".

*Waffenschmidt promised* to do away with unnecessary surveys and introduce more debureaucratisation.

Numerous statistics have already been dropped, he explained, and in other cases statistical surveying periods extended so as "not to unnecessarily encumber citizens and enterprises".

The *Statistik-Bereinigungsgesetz* (*Statistics Adjustment Act*), which is expected to lead to further improvements and simplifications, is currently passing through the parliamentary discussion stage.

There are also negotiations with Brussels to limit additional demands for statistical information.

"Debureaucratisation measures at a national level," said Waffenschmidt, "must not be counteracted by Brussels."

Waffenschmidt referred to the updating of employment statistics, a field in which up to now figures were presented with considerable delay, as valuable for economic and social policy decisions.

A new method has been developed by the Federal Statistical Office in cooperation with the Labour Ministry in Bonn and the Federal Labour Office to enable politically significant figures to be published as soon as possible.

According to Waffenschmidt, the number of persons in employment already increased by 179,000 last year, an increase which has probably risen this year.

In June the number of gainfully employed persons was 284,000 up on the corresponding figure one year previously.

According to Waffenschmidt, the public budgets of the Federal government, the *Länder* and the local authorities had a total spending figure of almost DM1,000 billion at their disposal or roughly DM15,000 *per capita of the* West German population.

The Statistical Yearbook shows that social security spending accounts by far for the lion's share of spending (almost half).

The key spending areas were defence in the case of the Federal government, education (*Länder*), and health, education and sport (local authorities).

The president of the Federal Statistical Office, Egon Hölder, expressed his opinion that developments in the field of tuberculosis illnesses is a particular success for health policy efforts.

The number of people suffering from tuberculosis fell from 190,000 in 1970 to only 30,000 last year.

Hölder called the *Statistical* Yearbook, which contains over half a million facts and figures relating to social, economic and cultural life, the "most important book of the nation".

The Yearbook shows that 3.9 million cars were produced last year, i.e. 10 per cent more than the year before.

It also shows the reverse side of the coin: the number of people killed in road accidents.

This figure, however, fell drastically by 18 per cent last year to 8,400.

The Statistical Yearbook confirms the remarks made by Bonn Health Minister, *Rita Süssmuth, that there is* a growing number of births in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Waffenschmidt cautiously referred to "signs of a positive trend".

The Yearbook also enables a review of the long-term development of the number of persons who have sought asylum in the Federal Republic during recent years.

Whereas in 1983 just under 20,000 *foreigners made new applications* for asylum in the Federal Republic, this figure had already soared to 35,000 by 1984.

The figure almost doubled last year, and there are fears that the previous peak figure of 107,818 applications in 1980 will be *surpassed this year*.

Sixty per cent of all asylum applicants last year came from Asian countries (excluding Turkey).

There has been a disproportionately high increase in the share of this group, whose number has increased threefold since 1984.

Statistics also show the shift in the composition of inhabitants in the Federal Republic of Germany within just a few years.

In 1960 only about 700,000 foreigners lived in the Federal Republic on a "not just temporary" basis.

The corresponding figure had increased to 4.4 million by last year.

According to the latest information and trends the figure is still rising.

Reference to an under 10 per cent share (average) of foreigners in the population as a whole is misleading if it is *not taken into* account that the majority of these foreigners have settled down in the big West German urban conurbations.

Due to this concentration the share is well over 10 per cent in a number of cities, for example, 25 per cent and more in Frankfurt and Offenbach.

According *to the former* Premier of North-Rhine Westphalia, Kühn (SPD), 10 per cent is a "rebellion threshold" for the local population.

In comparison the share of foreigners in unemployment as a whole is disproportionately high, amounting to a third *in some cities such as Stuttgart*.

This disproportionately high job loss risk together with the relative lack of opportunity of finding a job due to lower qualification and greater language problems explains the disproportionate increase recently in the number of foreigners *receiving welfare assistance* money.

Sixty per cent of all nationals from other countries living in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1985 have lived here for ten years or more.

In comparison with this (constantly *rising*) *average period of stay* in the Federal Republic and in comparison with the high absolute number *of foreigners who* the number of foreigners who became naturalised Germans (*1984*: 38,046) is "ridiculously low".

This is not, it is *claimed*, due to the *fact that insurmountable* bureaucratic barriers have to be overcome before a person obtains German nationality, which is granted preferably to citizens from Eastern bloc countries.

Even if they are legally entitled to become Germans and have filed the necessary applications many foreigners decide not to become naturalised Germans.

One explanation for this apparent contradiction is that the legal status of foreigners living in the Federal Republic is generally so consolidated that most of them do not regard the German nationality as desirable.

It would only entail additional responsibilities.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 26 August 1986)

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be forced to pay fines, regardless of complicity or not, if foreigners arrive without proper papers. They will also have to take them back at their own cost.

Border guard forces are also to be strengthened to give the measures teeth. Favourite border crossing points will be policed more intensively to examine on the spot refugees' asylum credibility.

The *immigration authorities* in Frankfurt are to get more staff.

The Federal Office for the processing of applications for asylum status in Zirndorf, is to get an additional 100 trained staff in a bid to ease the backlog of applications.

Refugees who become involved in activities in Germany which might make them unpopular with their own governments cannot now offer this as an excuse to stay.

People who have already been three months in another country apart from their own, will not have their applications recognised.

If refugees try to cross into Germany from an other European Community country, Austria, Switzerland Norway or Sweden or another country where they were free from political persecution, they now run the risk of being turned back.

From now on, if it can be at ascertained that applicants want to enter West Germany for economic reasons, then their applications will be deemed invalid. Even if there is a general situation of emergency or a civil war in the *home country*.

The Government expects that the tightening of controls will have the desired effect on would be "economic refugees," and that as a result the number of economic refugees will sink. It is also hoped that the measures will be effective against organisations involved in the refugee smuggling.

*Diethart Goos*

(Die Welt, Bonn 28 August 1986)

# Wave of childbirths provokes search for a reason

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

During the first six months of 1986 5.2 per cent more children were born that during the same period last year.

It looks as if more and more people have heeded the call to start a family.

The figures do not, of course, indicate that West German society has suddenly become more fond of children.

It is also improbable that the political discussion in 1985 over an upbringing allowance, an upbringing holiday and pension schemes has been the decisive incentive for young couples to have a child.

Private surveys support the more plausible supposition that the latest trend is connected with a new independence among women.

It is also connected with the growing willingness of men to do more housework and help look after the baby.

Women are not only demanding the right to go out to work just like the men; they want to go out to work *and* be mothers, just as men want *to go out to* work *and* be fathers too.

So is the new wave of child births a result of the allegedly anti-family and anti-children women's liberation movement?

The Bonn government [illegible] the increase in the number [illegible] result of their family policy.

Family Affairs Minister Rita Süssmuth was honest enough to admit that financial improvements alone were probably not the only reason for the increase.

A survey of the motives has not yet been conducted.

Such a survey could prove very interesting in view of the fact that "reproductive behaviour" is apparently so difficult to predict.

The survey, however, would also [illegible] the risk of providing results which [illegible] not be welcomed by the government.

Leaving aside Frau Süssmuth [illegible] government's conservative [illegible] would like to see women take advantage of their "freedom of choice" [illegible] all their time [illegible]

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, [illegible] August 1986)



■ FINANCE

# Disunity over plans to reform taxes

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg intends keeping tax cuts and tax reform as his *main priorities* if the coalition is re-elected in January.

In principle his views are undisputed in the government ranks. But in practice, it is not quite like that.

Many of his colleagues would like to see *several increases in permanent* spending commitments. One example is Family Affairs and Health Minister Rita Süssmuth, who wants an extention to certain child benefit payments.

Many influential politicians in the *Länder* disagree with Stoltenberg's *enthusiasm for* American-style tax reform, which would involve extensive structural changes.

One such sceptic is the Bavarian Finance Minister, Max Streibl.

Another question is how lower taxes would be prevented from being neutralised by higher contributions to pension and health insurance schemes.

Stoltenberg talks about tax reform, which he hopes will have a volume of DM40 billion and provide relief in real terms of well over DM20 billion, as if final approval had been given. If the coa*lition stays in power*, he may find that his plans are not so popular among his colleagues as he believes. Coalition talks could also prove tricky in the fields of finance and tax policy, where agreement was presumed, at least "in principle", to exist.

**Deductions on the increase**

Average deductions from income (tax and social security contributions) in % age

| | Total | Tax* | Social security |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1960 | 16.2% | 6.8% | 9.4% |
| 1965 | 18.0% | 8.7 | 9.3 |
| 1970 | 23.0% | 12.3 | 10.7 |
| 1975 | 27.2% | 15.1 | 12.1 |
| 1980 | 30.0% | 16.8 | 13.2 |
| 1986 | 33.4% | 18.5 | 14.9 |
| 1990 (estimate) | 36.6% | 21.4% | 15.2% |

*Includes church tax

1 DEUTSCHE MARK

Globus

The government could make things easier by holding back its promises of more spending and greater welfare benefits after the general election.

Tax reform and tax relief should be programme enough for the time being.

Employees are not the only ones to benefit from tax relief.

Such a policy would also improve prospects of a continuingly buoyant economy, *innovation and dynamic* thrust.

Tax relief promises to stimulate the economy; it has a deeper and more widespread effect than just introducing new or raising old welfare benefits.

Tax reform as a programme, therefore, is far from being an unsocial policy package.

The strategists of the coalition could go one step further by making a binding promise that future decisions on greater spending in one field or another will only be taken after the details of the tax, pension insurance scheme and health system reforms have been finalised.

All these *reform complexes* are closely linked and it would make very little sense to approve measures in one field if reform ideas are still vague in the other.

A promise of this kind would indicate that a clear policy course is planned and that the government does not intend giving priority to every desire.

The very word priority implies that something is regarded as being less important.

In all probability, however, the CDU in its capacity as a people's party will not behave in such a streamlined way. It is more likely to seek compromises.

It would be rather foolhardy to optimistically look forward to a major tax reform. Whichever government is in power next finances will be tight.

The real situation of public finance was often disguised in previous years by the "creeping tax increases" which resulted from inflation and the tough graduated taxation system.

*The big transfer of Bundesbank profits* then made public finances look a lot better than they actually were.

Today, in a period with price stability, moderate pay settlements and low interest rates, it has become obvious how limited funds how.

*Tax revenue will only increase slowly*, and some of the additional revenue will have to be transferred to the European Community. So a miraculous money-spinning policy will not materialise.

A far-reaching tax reform, therefore, can only finance itself from two sources: greater spending thrift and a reduction of all kinds of subsidies.

The latter will not only relate to agriculture and coaking coal, but also to the many tax concessions, ranging from those for residential building to the large number of tax-free allowances.

Anyone unwilling to energetically thin out this jungle may bring a little tax relief, but in no way a real tax reform able to provide stimuli for the economy *for many years to come*.

At the moment many people feel that the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition has not got the kind of resolution needed in this field.

A completely new sense of urgency in the next legislative period is essential.

*It is also fair to harbour doubts with* regard to spending discipline.

If the ruling centre-right government stays in power, however, there is no time to lose.

Anything that is not laid down at the beginning of the four-year period will *not stand a chance later on*.

One of these things should be a binding decision to give tax reform priority over all other new spending plans.

*Heinz Murmann*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 26 August 1986)



# World outlook good, says survey

A survey by the Munich-based Ifo Institute for Economic Research reveals optimism about world economic prospects.

Ifo polled 500 economic authorities in 50 countries. They regarded the situation in June 1986 as "satisfactory".

Prospects for the next six to 12 months are "on the whole favourable".

But there are big regional differences. Industrialised countries get the best ratings.

With a mark of 5.6 (June 1985: 5.1) the overall situation of industrialised countries is expected to remain "satisfactory"; West Germany is again "good".

The developing countries came off worst. Their overall situation is "no longer that satisfactory" (with a mark of 4.2 as opposed to 4.7 in the same month last year), experts expect a further deterioration.

Despite a slight improvement and an unchanged rating of 3.5, the newly industrialising countries are "unsatisfactory" — and this is not expected to *change over the next few months*.

The average volume of foreign trade of the 50 countries covered by the survey will continue to increase. Industrialised countries will be the main beneficiaries.

The newly industrialising countries expect increasing exports and stagnating imports, whereas developing countries expect a noticeable increase in exports and a decrease in imports.

*The balance of trade situation of industrialised countries will probably im*-

DIE WELT

prove as a result of this development, that of the newly industrialising countries only marginally if at all.

The investment climate in industrialised *countries is still regarded as* "good".

A continuing trend towards lower interest rates also results in an expectation of greater successes in the fight against inflation.

A clear improvement in the business climate for foreign investors is felt to exist in newly industrialising countries ("satisfactory"), whereas developing countries are rated as "still unsatisfactory" in this respect despite a certain improvement.

Unemployment, government deficits and the lack of competitiveness are still regarded as the main economic problems in industrialised countries.

The most significant problems facing newly industrialising countries are felt to be external debt and budgetary problems.

*In these countries* inflation is a less important problem than unemployment.

In developing countries the lack of competitiveness is the main problem, followed by unemployment and the lack of qualified labour.

*Dankward Seitz*

(Die Welt, Bonn, 22 August 1986)

**In Josef Joffe's article on page 7, in edition No. 1240, headlined Another row over who is to play engine driver, the third paragraph, in the third column should have read: In such a situation, using economic measures to revive demand, in the private sector would scarcely be playing irresponsibly with inflationary fire.**

Germans are being much more careful about what they eat. The emphasis is on nutritious food low in animal fats, low in calories and high in vitamins.

A healthy diet is regarded as being low in such items as meat and meat products, sugar, salt and alcohol, but including more vegetables, fruit and milk products.

The medical view that heart and circulatory disorders are connected with too much fat is beginning to be taken seriously.

There are a million vegetarians in the Federal Republic. Five years ago there were only half as many. Every tenth German is eating more vegetables and less meat.

The West German Bakers Association reports that every German will this year eat five pounds of bread more than five years ago. According to Association spokesman Karl Esser this will be mainly rye bread, rich in roughage.

The Central Agricultural Products Marketing Board reports that sales of what could be regarded as nutritive foods have reached record proportions:

- demand for potatoes has increased 17 per cent since 1984;
- vegetable sales are greater now than for 10 years;
- last year a third more apples were sold than in 1983;
- there has been a big increase in the sales of milk products;
- the consumption of yoghurt has doubled over the past 10 years.

There has also been a big increase in the amount of cheese eaten.

Formerly only two kinds of cheese on average were included in German meals, now four or five are usual. West German cheese factories are experiencing an unbelievable boom.

One producer said: "For some time now we have dislodged the French from first place."

French cheese specialist regularly visit dairy farms in the Allgäu region in Bavarian and Baden-Württemberg to get to know what new recipes the Germans have created for French cheeses, that are now often only French cheeses in name.

### Big changes

In recent years the food industry has regarded changed eating habits as a little tucked-away market. But the industry began to re-think its attitudes as health food shops sprang up like mushrooms everywhere.

The Union Deutsche Lebensmittelwerke (a subsidiary of Deutsche Unilever based in Hamburg) brought out a range of margarine and vegetable oil products under the brand name "Becel" with a low cholesterol content — cholesterol is regarded as a health threat.

Because "Becel" sales were good, Lebensmittelwerke brought out the "Du darfst" series of cheeses and margarines that were low on calories.

Then attempts were made to extend the range of food products with pre-prepared meals, high on roughage and low on calories.

The meat products company Niederstadtkötter in Westphalia brought out a new kind of smoked sausage, that contained 60 per cent less fat than normal smoked sausage because very lean meat was used.

Nestlé felt its way into the market with "Bifighurt." This is different from normal yoghurt because it is made from a "dextro-rotatory" lactate of milk, especially good for the metabolism and digestion.

■ THE CONSUMER

# Warnings about animal fats begin to have an effect




The business in healthy foods, that cost consumers more, attracted the first foreign organisations to the last foodstuffs exhibition (Anuga) in Cologne. *There was soyabean salad from France* and Worcester Sauce from Britain, low on natrium and salt-free.

Food stuffs groups have already done much to extend the range of nutritive foods they sell.

Copying America there are now cholestrol-free eggs. For some time there has been nothing special about ordering a cholesterol-free breakfast in American hotels.

The Union Deutsche Lebensmittelwerke developed a healthy egg in powder form, along with a new kind of sausage in which meat was replaced by ingredients from sun-flowers.

Lebensmittelwerke wanted to test these products with small displays in shops in Berlin in the spring of 1985 to see if housewives would purchase them.

The Federal Health Office got to hear of this, however; and the pilot sales campaign was stopped. The shops had to pack away the cholesterol-free eggs and vegetarian sausages on the spot.

Since then the Federal Health Office and Lebensmittelwerke have been at loggerheads and have gone to court about the interpretation of foodstuffs control legislation!

The law makes it illegal to offer a product as an "egg" that does not contain cholesterol. The same goes for sausages with sun-flower ingredients!

The Health Office takes the view that "these products do not merit the definition egg and sausage," because a sausage can only be called a sausage when it contains animal fat.

Horst Ziegler, spokesman for Union Deutsche Lebensmittelwerke, said indignantly: "That set progress back."

He added that if products had to be labelled with the subsitutes they contained it is only reasonable to assume that housewives would think the sausage (or egg) was not really a sausage or egg, just a product with healthy additives.

Whilst the foodstuffs industry is engaged in legal battles with the state the catering trade has discovered that there is a lot of money to be made from nutritive foods.

The Romantik hotel chain sent to its business associates health food recipes to try out, and the cooks in the Steigenberg chain of hotels report that the demand for nutritive meals has increased considerably.

The catering trade is considering if some kind of logo could not be devised to place over restaurant doorways, showing that the establishment served healthy food.

The trend to healthier eating will influence the foodstuffs industry for the next ten years. A study prepared by Nestlé entitled "People and Food in 2000" revealed that 77 per cent of West Germans regard food quality as *much* more important than price.

This study came to the conclusion that the demand for meat would remain constant up to the end of this century, but the demand for vegetables, fruit, milk, cheese and related products would increase enormously.

One North German cutlery manufacturer has taken the healthy eating trend among Germans to its logical conclusion and has produced a cutlery service with a minute knife and a particularly large spoon.

*Hanns-Peter Rosellen*

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 22 August 1986)

**German fat consumption**
Per head 1985 in kilos

| | |
|---|---|
| Total | 29.40 |
| Margarine | 7.70 |
| Edible fats | 3.67 |
| Edible oils | 3.47 |
| Butter | 7.55 |
| Lard, dripping etc. | 7.01 |

Condor

# Wine industry faces a bitter truth: less is being drunk

One of the country's biggest vintners, Gerhardt, has run into financial trouble. Any immediate threat to its existence has been forestalled by a DM 4.8 million guarantee from the Rhineland-Palatinate *Land* government.

Negotiations have now been opened with other big wine handlers in the hope of finding someone able to get Gerhardt back on its feet — ironically, one of these potential partners is the giant Ferdinand Pieroth company which itself has been in financial trouble.

So is this a matter of two tottering organisations supporting one another? Nothing could highlight more glaringly the crisis that has hit a large part of the German wine industry.

Pieroth ought to have profited from the industry's doldrums. It came out of the wine-adulteration scandal almost untouched. In the first shock of the affair, lots of big customers and wine representatives came over to it.

But the truth about wine is bitter. Sales are faltering — down 10 per cent in both domestic and imported varieties in the first half of 1986 compared with the same period last year.

And even before the alarm bells started ringing over the Austrian wine, sales were beginning to tail off.

Latest export figures show a dramatic decline in sales in some sectors, accelerated in the USA by the weak dollar, the European Community trade war, and in Britain because of a price war that threatens to make the market uninteresting.

Consumer prices for German wine are relatively stable. But too many wine merchants are sitting on too much wine bought at high prices.

The trade magazine *Die Weinwirtschaft* is already predicting a nasty day of reckoning, in which assets in millions in balance-sheets can no longer be written off...

Now there is the threat that this year's wine harvest will be of good quality and in quantities way above the average. This time this has happened at the wrong time...

The quantity will cause prices to tumble, so that many companies, already heavily burden with debt, will have to close.

Prices will certainly not measure up to the wine's quality, because high quality wines have fallen into disrepute among wine-drinkers because of the scandal.




Well-informed buyers will have a field day this winter hunting for bargains. But for many wine-growers and merchants the winter may well prove catastrophic. It was hoped that legislators would introduce measures to limit the quantity of wine and improve quality.

Until now, however, they have only managed to introduce regulations that were drawn up for the benefit of growers in the Moselle valley and that have been reviled by the industry itself to some extent as "misleading wine-drinkers."

Wine-growers in Franconia, Baden and Württemberg have nothing but scorn for the new regulations.

Now advertising is being brought in to help. Central government and the state governments in Rhineland-Palatinate and Baden-Württemberg have paid out many millions in differing ways and with differing aims in mind.

Advertising is always more sensible than direct subsidies.

The mammoth wine-tasting of selected German wines, to which the Chancellor has invited 800 guests, is commendable.

But it is questionable if the state can in the long-term actively advertise wine bearing in mind the government's health policy aims.

But it is pointless to advertise wine without at the same time improving the quality.

It is dishonest and ignoring the facts to say that the loss of faith in the wine industry is due to wine scandals abroad, forgetting all about the liquid sugar scandal in this country.

Psychologically every new scandal makes the previous one seem more shocking.

With the decline of world wine consumption, to some extent on health grounds, the only way to maintain the declining band of consumers is through real quality.

Proof of this is that the major Bremen wine importers have so far not complained of any losses.

*Joachim Neander*

(Die Welt, Bonn, 18 August 1986)



■ ENERGY

# Bonn looks at long-term options to the atom

The Bonn government is beginning to take seriously the prospect of abandoning nuclear energy in the long term. Chancellor Kohl brought up the matter at a Cabinet meeting.

He seems to think that alternatives will be available in viable amounts, but not before the year 2030 at the earliest.

There were two alternatives worth considering, he told the Cabinet. One is nuclear fusion, under which hydrogen atoms are fused together under extreme pressure and heat, just like they are on the sun's surface. The other is the production of hydrogen gas with the aid of energy captured from the sun.

The Cabinet's discussion centred round energy sources which would in the long term make the producer self sufficient and which would not harm the environment.

*Bonn's* Research Minister, Heinz *Riesenhuber*, disagrees with the Chancellor. *He* see the solution lying in the use of fast breeder reactors.

*The* new hydrogen idea first surfaced in a press release soon after Ludwig Bölkow, inventor and aviation entrepreneur, met Bavaria's Premier, Franz Josef Strauss.

Strauss must have been impressed for he immediately told Chancellor Kohl.

This change of heart now means that speculation about hydrogen, which up till recently had only attracted the attention of a small circle of scientists, has achieved a break-through, at least in terms of public awareness.

The uses which hydrogen can be put to, have been known for some time. It was used at the beginning of the century to drive Zeppelins and as municipal gas in cities.

However it was only after the war that a team of scientists, working under the Brunswick physicist Eduard Justi, produced a comprehensive energy scheme. Today the main source of publicity for this technology comes from the Stuttgart branch of the German research Institute for air and space travel (DFVLR).

Hydrogen is an ideal carrier of energy. It is the only completely environmentally harmless substance. After use, all that remains as residue is pure water.

Hydrogen is the primal building-block of the cosmos and is available in unlimited quantities. With regard to its weight, it has the highest thermal value of all carriers of energy and can be used practically for all purposes without necessitating significant changes in the structure of the power supply. Whether it be as domestic gas, fuel for cars and planes, electricity or as an industrial raw material.

There is however one catch. It may be available in unlimited quantities on the surface of the sun, but it's very much in short supply on earth.

It has to be extracted from coal or natural gas or by splitting water into its component parts of hydrogen and water. And that unfortunately requires energy. Basically, al energy system are suitable for the production of hydrogen.

For example, it would be possible to use the surplus energy produced at night by nuclear and hydraulic power plants to extract hydrogen from water by electrolysis.

Wind power could also be used to obtain hydrogen which could then be introduced as energy into the power system at another point in the supply grid.

Most of the supporters of the new idea are placing their hopes in solar energy as the technology most likely to make hydrogen power a practical reality.

They envisage deserts covered in enormous solar cells producing energy to extract hydrogen. The hydrogen would then be collected in liquid form in tanks or pipes and distributed to the industrial conurbations.

Despite its environmental advantages, solar energy is at the moment too expensive. A square metre of solar cells costs about 2,000 marks to install and produces only 100 kilowatts at a retail price of two marks an hour. To be economic, the rate would have to sink to 10 pfennigs an hour.

Riesenhuber has so far spent about 66 million marks on solar research and does not want to spend more. In his most recent assesment of the outlook for renewable energy sources before the year 2,000, he did not even mention hydrogen.

His ministry's current budget has put aside 13 million marks — scanty beside what is being spent on nuclear power. But that is a blunt expression of what Riesenhuber thinks. Whatever Riesenhuber may think, the future of hydrogen has already begun. The chemical industry has been gaining practical experience for the last 40 years in the construction and accident-free use of high-performance hydro-gen-power.

The large German chemical concerns run a hydrogen pipeline a 100 kilometres long, in the area between the Ruhr and Southern Germany.

Those that have an excess supply feed their surplus into the pipeline, and others when in need, draw off according to their requirements

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

In 1960 the American Apollo space programme was run on a liquid hydrogen- oxygen mixture. The Americans have developed a comprehensive system for the production, transportion and storing of large quantities of the frozen fuel.

In co-operation with the DFVLR, Daimler-Benz and BMW automobiles have produced the element.

Since 1984, Daimler-Benz has been successfully experimenting Berlin with hydrogen-driven cars. The automobile industry is preparing itself for an age when oil will be in short supply and they want at all costs to avoid being left high and dry with obsolete technology.

Walter Peschka from the DFVLR said, "Hydrogen has presented industry with many tasks which will have to be tackled in an entrepreneurial manner."

Hydrogen energy he added, will probably always be more expensive than the contemporary type, but at least it will protect the environment against destruction. The technical know-how is to a large extent already developed. The big question is whether the public will be prepared to accept it?".

*Wolfgang Mauersberg*

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 24 August 1986)



# French plant incident 'no minor mishap'

One of the most important tasks of most governments is safeguarding their energy supplies. This is not only because of the immediate economic need, but also because when in the not-too-distant future, oil and coal start to run out, energy consumer nations don't want to be vulnerable to the political whims of supplier nations.

However the present indispensibility of oil, coal and nuclear power has not blinded people to the fact that they endanger the environment.

Nuclear power, which at one time was looked upon as an unlimited source of clean energy, loses more and more credibility by the hour. In the wake of the Chernobyl disaster a wave of euphoria supporting the abolition of nuclear power has swamped the media.

But people have been merely discussing closing down power plants and not turning to the real technological alternatives.

Discussion of solutions for the world's energy problems requires cool heads and factual discussion, not emotionalism and inflexible planning.

The theme of atomic power must be handled sensitively. Exaggeration or playing down of the issue only makes comprehension of matters worse.

The most recent incident at the French station in Cattenom is not enough for people to speak in terms of a second Chernobyl.

However the French must not be allowed to think that the matter can be dismissed as a routine technical mishap. They will have to be more informative than the poker-faced blurb, which informed that for reasons unknown a cooling-pipe for the primary circuit had burst.

German politicans have consistently expressed their fears of having such a large reactor near their border, and this did nothing to allay them.

A major disaster was avoided. But in the eyes of the public, the much voiced fears about safety standards at the reactor now sound considerably less hysterical.

Since Chernobyl any form of reactor-mishap has been subjected to the most intense publicity. Politicians and public alike have become aware of the fallible nature of nuclear technology. Officials at the Cattenom plant only rubbed in this disturbing fact still deeper.

Guarantees cannot be given, they said, "that similar accidents or worse will not happen again."

Despite that, the French government has no intention of abolishing its complete energy programme on account of Cattenom. But they should at least consider whether they should press ahead with the Cattenom plant in the face of the considerable criticism of their Luxembourg and German neighbours.

Walter Wallmann, the new Bonn Minister for the Environment intends to calm nerves by spending billions making reactors foolproof on his side of the border.

After the recent incident in Cattenom it has become urgently necessary for us to do more. We must make clear to the French the extent of our concern and our expectations that they take them seriously.

*Axel Ostrowski*

(Kieler Nachrichten, 25 August 1986)

■ CONTACT

# Women on the move in the arts and in politics

Hamburg women are on the move and are making their presence felt to an increasing extent in the city's politics and the arts.

Although approval has yet to come there will be a "Women's Party" in the 9 November elections for the city-state's parliament.

Furthermore the Greens and the Alternative List will be represented exclusively by women members of the parliament, which will be unique in parliamentary affairs.

No matter how the final result turns out there will be a considerable increase in the number of women in the SPD and CDU parliamentary parties.

These political developments in female emancipation in Hamburg run parallel to an exhibition recently opened in the Hamburg Kunsthalle entitled "Eve and the Future."

This emphasis on matters feminine will be increased considerably over the next few weeks with the "First European Women Artists Festival," also named the Festival for Women, certain to attract not only female but male attention.

This festival, in preparation for years, is the direct outcome of last year's International Conference of Women in Nairobi. It has borrowed that conference's slogan: "For Equality — Against Hunger and Poverty — For Peace."

The Festival started with a concert of international women folk singers, in the town hall square, a public festival attended by over 12,000 and with socially critical overtones in its dedication "For our friend Winnie Mandela."

Among those performing were "Latin America's voice," Mercedes Sosa from Argentina, and the Spanish mezzo-soprano Teresa Berganza.

The common ground these top musical and theatre stars have (Isa Ehre and Ingrid Andree, Eva Mattes and Barbara Sukowa narrated the German translations of the lyrics) is characteristic of the whole concept of this Festival for Women.

The final event of the festival, on 15 September, will take place in St Jacobi

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Church. It will be the German première of a secular requiem by Giovanna Marini, written in the spacious style of a "Cantata delle cinque stanze" for two choirs, three classical singers and one non-classical singer, a large orchestra and a group of Sardinian shepherds.

This is representative of the unconventional mixture of the whole programme and is evidence of the international element in the event and the commitment of those taking part.

The Festival includes a benefit programme to raise funds for the musical education of black children in South Africa.

This programme is organised by Elisabeth Schwarzkopf, which is a sign of its uniqueness, and will include opera stars Christa Ludwig, Hanna Schwarz and Gabriele Schnaut, and narrators Joana Maria Gorvin, Eva Mattes and Angela Winkler.

Rolf Liebermann, director of the Hamburg Staatsoper, said that the Women's Festival raised the question, "why has women's creativity so often appeared in the interpretive arts whilst their participation in the creative arts, with the exception of literature, in painting, sculpture and composition, has been minimal?"

His French wife, a former Paris journalist, is a member of one of the organisations expressly founded to support this unusual Festival.

Bringing up in the rear of the events in the three-week-long Festival are 16 first performances. Apart from jazz musician Carla Bley, who will play some of her new composition, there will be works performed by a female orchestra by Tona Scherchen and Susanne Erding.

Susanne Erding has composed especially for the Festival a concertino for clarinet and orchestra that will be performed with Sabine Meyer as the solist.

Sylvia Caduff, Swiss and musical director in Solingen, will conduct.

Classical music performances will take place in Hamburg's Musikhalle; and other venues, for events in a different style, include the Markthalle, the Kampnagel Hallen and "Fabrik."

Mention should also be made of a pageant entitled "Hammonia," describing how women have lived in Hamburg over the past three hundred years. It will be staged in Altona's Fischauktionhalle. There will also be evenings devoted to lieder and readings, as well as performances by Gardi Hutter, a female clown from Switzerland.

The women who have decided to take part in the Festival, do not see the world as one huge party. The women who have organised it want it to be a panoramic view of developments in world culture and cooperation.

The idea was first conceived in a commune some years ago when actress Eva Mattes met the musician Irmgard Schleier, who is heading the present Festival. She is a well-established conductor of a Hamburg choir and she will direct the final concert.

The Festival's advisory council includes many prominent Hamburg citizens, who are certainly not associated with the peace and protest movements of the 1970s.

Over the years of preparation the original idea for the Festival changed considerably. For budgetary reasons it was vital that big-draw stars appeared. Entrance tickets are relatively inexpensive and only a DM500,000 advance has come from public funds. This has aroused the jealousy of other women organisations in Hamburg. The organiser of Hamburg's "Women's Week," who only gets DM50,000 from public funds, complains bitterly about this elite competition with big names, as she sees it.

She maintains that behind it all there is a "quite different cultural idea" from the one she represents. She encourages ordinary women to take part in "women's art."

It remains to be seen if the protests from women against the Women's Festival will continue over the coming weeks, instead of a demonstration of solidarity with all who take part. It will also be interesting to see if they continue being cheerfully self-critical — at least as far as this can be observed by the opposite sex.

This attitude of cheerful criticism is manifest in the comments made about a concert of women instrumentalists drawn from North German orchestras.

This project of a women's orchestra is regarded with just a little irony as a "one-day wonder."

The irony is that this project cannot get off the ground without men.

The timpani will be played by a man and a male double-bass player has been recruited for the double-bass section.

The "women only" principle has not been maintained in the Festival office either.

Festival director Irmgard Schleier has had to bring in two unemployed male musicians to deal with orchestra organisation and to handle knowledgeably the sheet music.

The women organisers of the Festival hope for interest and constructive criticism from the male world. It will be up to them whether this Women's Festival will be a one-off or a regular event.

Rolf Liebermann has given the women organisers some good advice. He said that perhaps an attempt ought to be made in the next Festival to commission music and exhibitions, and assure women artists that their works would be played and seen, so as to bring women out of their Vestal Virgin condition. In two or three years time the Festival could be meaningfully extended, he said.

The result would be a Hamburg women's biennale.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 20 August 1986)

# A long way to a neighbour next door

More than a half of foreign women in West Germany would very much like to have better neighbourly contacts.

In a survey, carried out by a women's Evangelical organisation and the Cologne-based institute for empirical psychology, commissioned by the Education and Science Ministry, a third were only mildly interested and 16 per cent were not interested at all.

The study's aim was to explore the possibilities for inter-cultural contacts between women.

It revealed that only every fifth German women had a strong interest in making neighbourly contacts, a half were half-heartedly interested and a third had no interest whatsoever, although random samples did not reveal any Germans with xenophobic attitudes.

No-one would deny that a circle of friends who offer security, neighbourly assistance in the small cares and anxieties of life without pressure, control or intolerance would be well worth having.

People put a lot of value on companionship, perhaps because the reality is for so many so different.

A 29-year-old married German woman said: "It is terrible in our neighbourhood."

A single German girl, 20, said: "There is no friendliness in this block of flats. Everything is anonymous. People don't even say hello."

A girl student, living in a home for students where the possibilities for contacts should be extensive, said: "Here it is catastrophic — no community feeling, no consideration. We all live together here but we don't know each other."

When asked what they know about the community feeling of foreigners, this immediately conjured up a kind of envy among people. They believed that foreigners know how to celebrate together, they are often with each other and they take care of the family budget together.

But many of these romantic ideas, linked to holiday recollections, are rare in daily living in the Federal Republic, according to foreign women, speaking on their experiences of life in this country.

A Spanish woman said: "There is no companionship here. I am always hearing of parties at which Germans and foreigners dance and eat together as if they were one big family, but they don't want to have anything to do with foreigners as neighbours."

A Yugoslav woman observed: "I don't think the Germans know what community feeling is. They always pay for everything."

"In my country contact with the neighbours is very close," said a Greek women. "We know each other, we can depend on each other but still go our own ways."

With these replies as a background it is no wonder that foreign women living in this country, have a considerable interest in neighbourly relationships. A pre-requisite for close contacts in a neighbourhood or city district is that mutual prejudices are broken down.

Thirteen per cent of German women spoke disparagingly of the large communities foreigners live in as "a gang."

Street festivals offer many opportunities for getting to know one another, and 71 per cent of the German women had taken part in such events. Almost all of the women spoke favourably of them.

But these events can only be the take-off point for getting to know each other better and break down barriers.

Women's meetings can serve this purpose, meetings where women can chat and discuss the things they all do, cook, needlework, dance and enjoy music. These can all help women to get to know each other better.

Regular contacts such as these help correct prejudices. German woman as well as foreign women have distorted ideas about each other.

German women regard foreign women as very unemancipated, but they rarely see the patriarchal structure in their own country.

On the other hand many foreign women over-estimate the freedom German women enjoy.

They believe, for example, that German men are more understanding than foreign men. None of the German women who took part in the survey would agree with that.

The study covered many aspects such as a woman in society, women's image of men, the significance of the family, xenophobia and living conditions.

It showed that there was usually a wide gulf between how women saw themselves and how they saw foreign women.

This is not surprising when it is realised that 50 per cent of foreign women and 62 per cent of German women had no real experience of other cultures.

Inter-cultural groups would be a chance to get to know each other better and profit from the contacts, surmounting divisions and giving each other support for more equality and better human relationships.

*Bärbel Döhring*

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 21 August 1986)



■ MONARCHIES

# Ludwig I's undeserved fate in the historical shadow of Ludwig II

King Ludwig II of Bavaria died 100 years ago, on 13 June 1886; 200 years ago, on 25 August 1786, his grandfather, Ludwig I was born.

Ludwig I was the architect of Munich, the Bavarian capital. But today he is referred to in Bavaria as "the other Ludwig". He is regarded as tactless and lacking in gratitude.

It is the romantic Ludwig II who reigns supreme in the affections of Bavarians.

Both were, curiously enough, born on the same day, 25 August, and at the same time. But grandfather was born in Strasbourg and grandson in Nymphenburg Castle, in Munich.

Ludwig I was born into the House of Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld, an unimportant branch of the House of Wittelsbach.

He never dreamt that he would one day rule in Munich, where his rich, but little loved relation, Elector Karl Theodor of Bavaria-Palatinate, creator of the Englischer Garten, reigned.

Although the Elector had many illegitimate sons, when he died he had no legitimate heir.

Ludwig's father was the Count Palatine Maximilian who became Elector of Palatinate-Bavaria in 1799 and, by grace of Napoleon, was created King of Bavaria in 1806.

Young Ludwig did not feel comfortable in Munich. As a young man he was reserved, hard of hearing and he stuttered. He was far from happy and was homesick for his beloved Palatinate.

Hannoversche Allgemeine

The citizens of Munich regarded his attitude with displeasure.

But eventually they were astonished to see how the budding young Prince developed to be polite and intellectual with an attractive personality after he went to Göttingen University and travelled in southern Europe.

He gave his heart to art and decided to make Munich a kind of Athens on Bavaria's River Isar. He coined the phrase: "No-one can say they know Germany who has not seen Munich."

Under the eyes of his affable but totally unartistic father, he began to build and showed himself to be one of the most devoted builders in the House of Wittelsbach, putting into the shade the heritage created by his builder grandson Ludwig II.

The Prussian, Leo von Klenze, mistrusted by the citizens of Munich, was Ludwig's architect. He put his master's ideas into action.

He created classical buildings in the Mediterranean style such as the Ludwigstrasse, Königsplatz with the Residenz and the Pinakothek, the Ruhmeshalle and much else.

Munich acquired the reputation of being "Italy's most northerly city."

Ludwig paid out vast sum for the purchase of works of art, much to the displeasure of his father.

He could not understand "what this fool" (meaning his son) "can find in these filthy, shattered dummies." (meaning the Greek and Roman sculpture that is now housed in the Glyptothek.)

Unlike Ludwig II, who was shy and



Ludwig I . . . shocked his father. (Photo: Historia)

entrenched himself in the idyllic castles he built, distanced from his people, Ludwig I regarded his buildings and works of art as "acquisitions for the people."

Ludwig I is today not regarded as a man of myth and legend, no actor on a twilit stage, no cult figure as is the deified Fairy-tale King whose genius created Bavaria's wonder and splendour.

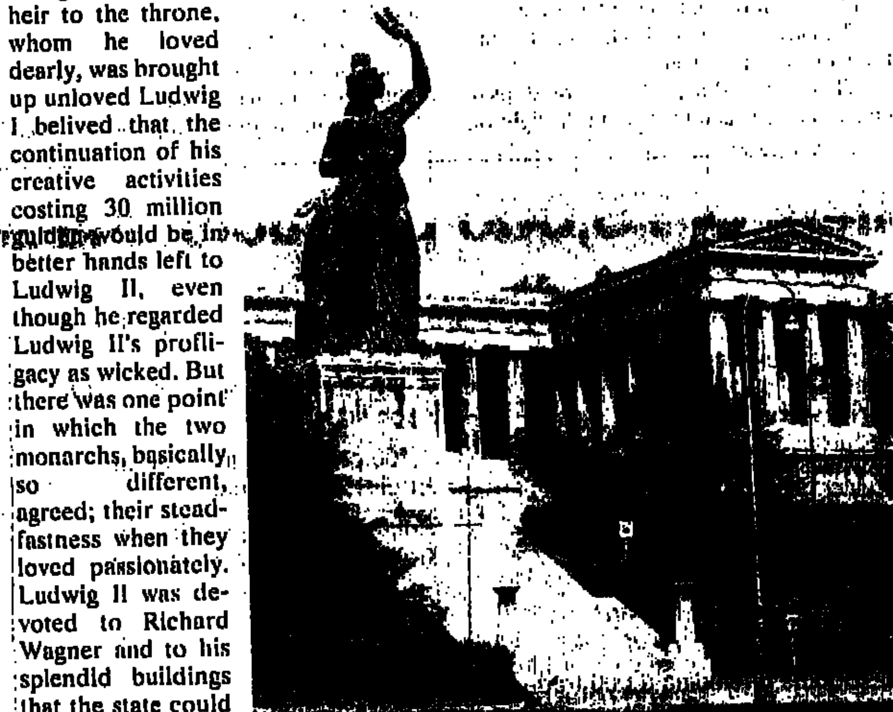
In private life Ludwig I was mean. He would not employ a valet saying. "I can dress myself alone."

He yelled at servants who offered him a new, rather than the old, worn-out umbrella. "The old one is good enough." he said.

He intervened in financial discussions about his building projects and climbed about the scaffolding to make sure that the building workers were not being idle.

He did not wear ermine as did his grandson, lost in a romantic dream of the Middle Ages, but went about with sleeves rolled-up, a man of action.

Nevertheless they loved one another. Ludwig I had no time for his dry-as-dust academic son Maximilian II. Father Ludwig held it against Maximilian that his grandson and heir to the throne, whom he loved dearly, was brought up unloved Ludwig I belived that the continuation of his creative activities costing 30 million guilders would be in better hands left to Ludwig II, even though he regarded Ludwig II's profligacy as wicked. But there was one point in which the two monarchs, basically so different, agreed; their steadfastness when they loved passionately. Ludwig II was devoted to Richard Wagner and to his splendid buildings that the state could no longer finance. Ludwig I loved beautiful women, particularly a certain Elisabeth James from Ireland, who, after a broken marriage and some sordid years as a second-rate artist and courtesan, presented herself at the Bavarian court as a noble Spanish lady with the name Maria de los Dolores Porrys e Montez.



Ludwig I's Ruhmeshalle in Munich . . . a kind of Athens. (Photo: Archives)

As Maria Montez she became one of the most famous mistresses to a monarch in German history.

The King, usually so realistic, was completely captivated by the charm and beauty of this woman, but the people's anger mounted against her and called her this "Spanish whore."

Bread prices rose, but the King's favourite lived in luxury in a palace in the Barer Strasse, presented to her by the King.

The people took a very dim view of the number of times she boxed the ears of policemen and servants, students and market women.

Eventually the so-called "Spanish Guard" composed of the student corps Alemania, had to be permanently increased in size because of the hot-blooded "Lady" and her appearances with revolver and a dagger.

But in the end not even the Spanish Guard could protect her from the people's anger.

From time to time she had to rescue her royal lover from excited crowds. The King created her Countess of Landsfeld, and it became too much when this exotic women began to exercise her influence on Bavarian government affairs.

The powerful arch-conservative Interior Minister Karl von Abel desptached to the King the famous memorandum of Febrary 1847.

In this the whole cabinet resigned on the grounds that "Bavarian national feeling had been grievously harmed, because a foreigner, whose public reputation is sullied, wants to reign."

What began as a turbulent private affair became a state scandal. On 11 February Ludwig signed an extradition order. Lola Montez had to leave the country.

But it was too late. Like a forest fire unrest and rebellion spread. The King was forced to abdicate.



Lola Montez . . . caused a few ructions. (Photo: Archives)

On 19 March 1848 the 62-year-old monarch, a broken man, but still calm, announced: "It is my unalterable wish to abdicate in favour of my son."

Neverless it would be wrong to explain the King's abdication by unrest in the state and his association with an impudent courtesan.

In 1848 the whole of Europe was in turmoil for freedom. The revolts that broke out in Paris, Vienna, Berlin and other capitals marked the end of an epoch.

The era of restoration (after the downfall of Napoleon) had run its course. Powerful liberal and national forces could no longer be kept down.

The self-willed, patriarchal King, who had reigned absolutely for 23 years had to bow to the spirit of the times. His scandalous affair was the last straw.

The King lived on for a further 20 years, and as a private person showed the Bavarians what they had lost in such a King.

Although there was much ill-feeling between King and people, this did not stop him from being his country's leading patron, or, as he said, "the local planning officer in retirement."

Buildings that were under construction were completed with his own money, and new architectural and artistic projects were drawn up.

But the noble private individual, the King turned commoner, could never get over the disgrace of 1848.

The historian Richard Bauer wrote: "Ludwig was not a private individual by inclination. He became a private individual from an understanding of the situation and because he wished to remain unconditionally faithful to his monarchical concepts."

Politically Ludwig I, like his grandson, was frustrated. Both placed emphasis on the union of the German nation, on support for the German spirit and, it goes without saying, a premier role for the Kingdom of Bavaria.

But they were not able to prevent the ascendency in the German-speaking world of the hated and feared Prussians, an ascendency that appeared in the middle of the 19th century and was clinched in 1871.

Against Ludwig's political failure and weaknesses can be juxtaposed human greatness and a challenging understanding of the arts.

Ludwig I does not stand on the heights surrounded by a cult of admirers but on the plains amid down-to-earth scaffolding.

But there a future great European city was built, the Munich of today in all her splendour and grandeur.

It is about time that Ludwig I was not just regarded as Ludwig II's grandfather.

*Ute Gote*

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 23 August 1986)

■ SCIENTIFIC FRONTIERS

# Archaeobacteria give the old heave-ho to esoteric inertia

For many years microbiologists concentrated their research efforts on a profitable and productive field of science: the pathogenes, bacteria per se.

The university institutes working in this area, however, gradually drifted into a state of esoteric inertia.

A number of scientists tried to change this situation by investigating special bacteriological phenomena existing on the fringe of the known bacterial world.

These bacteria could not be categorised according to existing models.

They became a separate field of research, the bottommost branch of the theory of evolution.

Since these bacteria were believed to be the descendants of the oldest living organisms the world has ever known their name was chosen accordingly: archaeobacteria.

What makes these bacteria so unusual and interesting is their atypical life-style in comparison with other micro-organisms.

They can be found on sulphurous ocean beds, in smouldering slag heaps, in salt works and in volcanic regions.

All archaeobacteria have one thing in common: oxygen, an otherwise essential prerequisite for life, is deadly poisonous.

The bacteria feed off sulphur, hydrogen and carbon dioxide.

Many archaeobacteria live in temperatures which are much higher than the coagulation temperature of protein.

All in all, therefore, the characteristics of these bacteria have triggered a kind of gold fever among researchers the world over.

In Japan a project was recently started called *Superbug* and headed by Professor Horikoshi. To begin with, the project has $6.2m at its disposal.

It works on a contract research basis for the petrochemical, electronics and pharmaceuticals industries.

In the United States research interest focuses on the gene-technological aspects of the new *old* micro-organisms.

The Federal Republic of Germany is also stepping up efforts in this field.

The main centres for research on archaeobacteria are the Max Planck Institute in Martinsried and, above all, the University of Regensburg.

One group of archaeobacteria has been known for some time and is already being used industrially.

These methanogenic archaeobacteria live in the decomposition towers of sewage plants and as symbionts in the stomachs of cows.

They have recently been put to use in a big way in biogas plants, since they can turn decaying organic waste into biogas, a mixture of methane gas and carbon dioxide.

They do a particularly good job in producing methane from problematic waste such as the left-overs of slaughter-houses and liquid manure. What is more, biogas can be burnt or used to generate electricity in gas motors. But it's the halobacteria group which really gets the hearts of researchers beating faster.

These bacteria live in concentrated saline solutions, such as those which result after the evaporation of seawater.

There are so many of these bacteria in these solutions that even persons without a microscope see the salt-works in Formentera shimmering red. It was the red colour of these micro-organisms which turned them into a research object.

Professor Dieter Oesterheldt from the Max Planck Institute in Martinsried discovered that this colorant had some special features.

The material included in the cellular membrane like little islands is called *bacteriorhodopsin* and chemically corresponds to the visual purple (rhodopsin) in the human eye.

This fact alone, however, would not warrant the investment of vast sums of money in research of these bacteria.

A further important aspect is the generation of energy.

Bacteriorhodopsin works as a proton pump generated by the power of light.

When light irradiates it pumps protons from the centre of the cell to the the outer medium.

As soon as a sufficiently high proton concentration is obtained on the outside the protons flow back into the cell via a kind of valve. A very simple principle.

The proton pump, however, only then works if the colorant is taken out of the cellular membrane.

This is easy to do, since the whole cell can be destroyed in clear water and the colorant, as its heaviest component, extracted with the help of a centrifuge.

The Japanese have already put this proton pump to practical use.

They have replaced the control electrode of a field-effect transistor by the bakteriorhodopsin.

When light hits the bacteriological electrode an electrically-charged field is created via the emission of protons.

The electricity generated is powerful enough to conduct a transistor.

Such a module is extremely well-suited as a connecting element between photoconductive fibres and computer circuits.

The purple colorant also has another interesting research quality.

When absorbing light rhodopsin changes colour and blocks out the light of a certain wavelength, even before the protons are emitted.

All this takes place in just a few picoseconds, i.e. in the time light takes to travel just a few millimetres.

Scientists are now trying to turn this process into an optoelectric circuit.

If they are successful this will represent a major step towards the development of a light computer which can calculate at almost the speed of light.

Conventional chip production may also benefit from halobacteria.

If the rhodopsin is crystallised clearly defined cracks of no more than a few angstrom develop.

This cracked structure could then be vapour-plated with gold and used as a matrix for the construction of chip wiring.

The circuit channels would then be so narrow that they would hardly be discernible even with the help of an electron microscope.

The next computer generation will probably be equipped with circuit elements produced on the basis of a halobacterium, for example, *halobium*.

Photoelectrically-driven and a thousand times faster than today's computers.

The third group of archaeobacteria cannot even survive in an environment of concentrated saline solutions or one which lacks oxygen. This group requires even more extreme conditions.

Temperatures of between 70 and 100 degrees centigrade, high pressure and pure suplhur as a nutrient.

This is the kind of diet their predecessors lived on three-and-a-half billion years ago.

Microbiolgist Karl-Otto Stetter from Regensburg has travelled round the world to find these archaeobacteria.

Deep-sea diving vessels, research ships and even canoes have helped him find his precious samples.

He digs and dives wherever extreme biotopes seem likely to contain the bacteria.

Most of his finds were made near the Stromboli island, where the earth's crust is still quite thin.

Every day he categorises new varieties of the microworld of archaeobacteria.

He feels that there are as many archaeobacteria as there are all other bacteria.

Although it is not clear why the organic components of these cells are not destroyed at such high temperatures this does not prevent practical testing for biotechnological application.

The bacteria are to be used to leach ores for very deep metal deposits, where temperatures are extremely high.

The bacteria eat up the sulphur from the ore and make it water-soluble.

The bacteria could also be used to desulphurise coal.

In England the first heat-resistant biosensors were built for industrial processes.

The pharmaceuticals has shown a strong interest in the micro-organisms. It would like to use the bacteria for new drugs.

Representatives of industry, therefore, are regular visitors to Regensburg.

Even an American tyre manufacturer was there looking for some slimy and heat-resistant bacteria for the vulcanisation of rubber with the aim of reducing friction and making the tyres last longer. His search was not in vain.

*Theo Störbrock*

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 3 August 1986)

# Mainz microbes go berserk over white wine

Bacteria are being used to decompose adulterated wine confiscated last year in the Rhineland-Palatinate.

The wine, found to contain traces of an anti-freeze called diethylene glycol, is being treated at a sewage plant in Mainz.

The chemical action produces methane gas which is used to generate the plant's own electricity.

The bacteria break down about 25,000 litres of the wine every day. About a million litres have been treated.

At the wine trading companies the confiscated bottles of wine are opened under the supervision of the police or customs authorities, poured into special tanks and then sealed. As soon as the Mainz plant, which the only one in the Rhineland-Palatinate which destroys glycol wine, has spare capacity it asks the firms to deliver the confiscated product.

The sealed tank waggon is then opened up by the police or customs officials in the yard of the sewage plant and then approval given for its destruction. The public prosecutor's office is also told.

Two decomposition towers, each with a capacity of 7,000 cubic metres, are available for the treatment of the glycol wine.

Before the wine is poured into these containers it is neutralised by a soda alkali.

In the sludge-filled towers the wine is literally eaten up by the bacteria.

*dpa*

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 23 August 1986)





■ MEDICINE

# Synthetic hormone key to making young bones grow

Slow bone growth in children can now be prevented with the help of biosynthetic growth hormone production.

In many cases, however, children who suffer from a growth hormone deficiency are taken along to see a doctor too late to enable effective treatment.

As a result their height remains below normal.

The earlier a lack of the growth hormone is diagnosed, the greater the chance of successful treatment, said Professor Otfried Butenandt (Munich) during a recent conference in Rottach-Egern.

Parents should measure the height of their children at regular intervals from birth onwards.

Together with the medical check-up records of the paediatrician delays and disturbances in growth can then be recognised in good time.

Growth curves showing normal (average) growth at certain stages for children from respective culture groups can help discover whether a child is comparatively small or tall.

The growth of 94 per cent of all children corresponds to these curves, whereas the rest are either smaller or taller, i.e. their growth curves move above or below the normal curves.

If a child's current height is compared several times at monthly intervals with the normal curves it is easier to ascertain whether the child's growth is outside of the normal growth range.

As the growth of healthy children is to a certain degree hereditary a child's "target size" can be estimated by referring to the height of the parents.

If a child grows along the part of the normal curve which corresponds to this target size further check-ups are superfluous.

Closer examination will only be necessary if the child's growth deviates from this target area.

The growth forecast becomes more exact if information can be obtained on the degree of bone growth (ossification).

Annual X-ray pictures of the child's hand, which can then be compared with the X-ray pictures of maturely developed bones of children of the same age in an X-ray atlas, reveal any differences.

In some cases the child's bone age is several years younger than it should be at a certain chronological stage.

Such a child will keep on growing much longer than the average child, whereas children with advanced bone development will stop growing much earlier.

The stage of the child's sexual development, which doctors can determine via reference to special charts, also has an effect on height.

During puberty the male sex hormone (testosterone) in the case of boys and the female sex hormone (oestrogen) in the case of girls trigger typical characteristics of growth.

The hormones of the thyroid gland (thyroxine) are essential for bodily growth from birth onwards, together with the growth hormone, which forms the pituitary gland (hypophysis) following stimulation from the hormone from the interbrain.

Microsomia as a result of a lack of thyroxine has more or less disappeared altogether in the Federal Republic of Germany since corresponding tests were introduced for newborn children.

The lack of the growth hormone, on the other hand, is often diagnosed too late or not at all.

The reason for this deficiency is not clear.

It may, said Professor Butenandt, be linked with the lack of oxygen at birth, which can damage the sensitive cells in the hypophysis.

Children born via a breech delivery are known to suffer from a lack of the growth hormone more frequently than others.

As the human growth hormone is specific to the human race it was up to now only possible to obtain a growth hormone effective for human growth from the pituitary gland of the (dead) human body.

Its use was banned in 1985 after it became clear that the hormone was partially contaminated by the pathogene of the Jakob Creutzfeld disease, a disorder of the brain with progressive dementia.

Shortly afterwards, medical researchers achieved a biosynthetic production of the growth hormone, which in the meantime is being used for the treatment of about 6,000 children in 30 countries.

This initial form of a biosynthetic growth hormone, however, differed from the human hormone, since the former had an additional amino acid (methionine) on each molecule.

Roughly a quarter of the children treated with the biosynthetic hormone developed antibodies, without, however; reducing the effectiveness of the growth hormone.

Medical developments have now gone beyond this first generation of biosynthetic growth hormone.

It is now possible to produce a biosynthetic growth hormone without the surplus methionine group, i.e. a growth hormone which is identical with the human growth hormone.

Since 1985 roughly 65 children have been treated with this new hormone as part of a clinical study at various children's clinics.

As the head of this study, Professor Butenandt, pointed out in Rottach, these children only grew 4 centimetres each year before treatment and are now growing at about ten centimetres a year.

So far none of the children being treated have developed antibodies against the human growth hormone.

This new growth hormone will probably be used more generally in the near future.

In the United States girls suffering from a chromosonally induced lack of growth (Ulrich-Turner syndrome) have already been treated with the new hormone.

Without treatment these girls usually grow to a height of no more than 145 centimetres, since their growth stops due to a lack of the growth hormone between the age of eight and nine.

It will probably also be possible to use the hormone to help children suffering from leukaemia, where cytostatic and ray treatment often impairs growth.

*Silvia Schattenfroh*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 9 August 1986)

# Big response to cancer advice centre

A cancer information service has been opened in Heidelberg. It gives advice about the prevention, detection, treatment and after care of cancer — for the price of a phone call.

The centre is being run by the German Cancer Research Centre (DKFZ) which is providing the finance together with the Heidelberg-Mannheim Tumour Centre.

Up to 200 people a day have been ringing from all over Germany and from neighbouring countries.

Over half of the calls are passed on to a full-time team of doctors, biologists, psychologists and social education workers, who then try to answer questions with the help of the DKFZ, various clinics and reference to specialist literature.

This information is then passed on to callers when they ring up a second time.

In many cases specialists and specialist institutions are named or advice given on which questions doctors should be asked.

*dpa*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 19 August 1986)



# Surgery future 'lies in more specialisation'

The future of surgery lies in its specialisation, says Professor Christian Herfarth of the University Clinic of Heidelberg.

But he told a conference in Heidelberg organised by the German Society for Surgery and its American sister organisation, the American College of Surgeons, that specialisation should not have the result of splitting up hospital departments.

What is needed is the integration of surgical specialists in large surgical units, and not overspecialisation.

Herfarth explained that there is a trend in both countries in the treatment of mammary cancer (cancer of the breast) towards operations which do not remove the breast(s), at least in cases where the tumours are no larger than two centimetres.

This form of treatment, however, does involve subsequent and strenuous ray treatment.

This fact must, therefore, be made clear to patients beforehand.

In some US states doctors are already obliged to inform patients about the alternative between an operation with or without breast amputation.

The over 500 physicians from the USA, the Federal Republic of Germany and a number of other European countries referred to successes in the conservatory or operative extension of contracted arteries leading to the brain.

According to Professor Michael Trede (Mannheim) the mortality rate for these operations had dropped to one per cent at the major centres for vascular surgery.

It is gradually becoming generally accepted that vascular contraction should be treated prohylactically to prevent ap-

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■ MINORITIES

# Debate about whether foreigners should be allowed to vote in local elections

The SPD in Hesse maintains that giving foreigners a vote in local government elections is a good idea but this can only be achieved by altering Basic Law, the Constitution.

The draft bill, presented to the state parliament by the Greens for giving foreigners the vote in local elections, is regarded by the ruling Social Democrats and the two opposition parties, CDU and FDP, as unconstitutional.

The SPD has drawn up a motion to make it easier to get West German nationality and to establish councils which include foreigners elected directly.

This motion, together with the Greens' draft bill, were passed for consideration by the parliamentary committee concerned after the debate in the state parliament.

Hesse Prime Minister Holger Börner regarded it as "politically thoughtless" to hold a controversial debate on a draft bill, "that would founder with absolute certainty."

According to Börner the legal position makes it essential for the political parties to try and find a broad consensus of opinion on policies concerning foreigners, for only then would it be possible to change Basic Law.

Börner announced that a first step had been taken in the Bundesrat (Upper House) to make it easier for second and third generation foreigners to obtain West German nationality.

According to Börner's statement his government's ideas go far beyond those of other SPD state governments. According to the Hesse proposal foreigners who acquire West German citizenship would not be required to relinquish their previous nationality.

This would certainly bring about an unwanted increase in the number of people with dual nationality.

This must be accepted, however, if the aim is to integrate second-generation foreigners successfully.

Börner pointed out, however, that giving foreigners the right to vote in local elections would do very little for their day-to-day problems.

According to the CDU opposition (in the Hesse state parliament) voting rights cannot be separated from citizenship.

CDU member Nassauer said that a

Frankfurter Allgemeine

voter must be a citizen. Only a person who feels so bound to the country where he or she lives, and wants to be a citizen, is fully justified in demanding a right to influence political development through the ballot box.

Nassauer doubted that voting in local government elections was in the long run of "central significance." The question of integration is ultimately a matter for foreigners themselves.

Everyone knows, he said, that only a small minority had decided never to return to their homeland again, but wished to remain here permanently.

It should be made plain to these foreigners that they have a right to integration and that they should press ahead and become citizens. They would then, Nassauer said, solve the question of a right to vote themselves.

In the debate Hesse Interior Minister Horst Winterstein reported that only about nine per cent of foreigners living here, or who had grown up here, applied for citizenship.

He said that about a half of all foreigners would be prepared to apply for citizenship if they could retain their original nationality as well. In the Hesse debate FDP parliament member Otto asked the Social Democrats if they had given thought to the fact that the right of foreigners to vote, which they had said was "politically desirable" was also, according to the SPD, possibly unconstitutional?

This ambiguity was not only apparent in their support of foreigners' rights to vote, but also for SPD education, refuse and nuclear policies.

Otto said that there were an alarming number of cases of "incompatibility between Social Democrat aspirations and constitutional realities."

He made it quite clear that the FDP rejected the right of foreigners to vote not only on constitutional, but on political grounds.

The FDP was convinced that giving foreigners the right to vote would not make it easier for foreigners to integrate and could harm not only German interests but the interests of foreigners as well.

Otto added that the people's state of political awareness should not be tried too far. "This is particularly true," he said, "for towns and cities with a particularly high proportion of foreigners."

According to official statistics, for instance, in two Frankfurt districts over 80 per cent of the population was made up of foreigners, and in one Frankfurt primary school over 90 per cent of the pupils were foreigners.

If, in view of these figures, sections of the German population feel they are "emotionally on the defensive," even if there are no rational grounds for this, it can be understood.

The FDP is convinced that "to add voting rights to this" would increase fears and "provide additional food for the lousy xenophobic words and deeds of neo-nazis."

The FDP, along with the CDU, came out in favour of making it easier to get West German nationality.

Bernd Messinger, a Greens member of the Hesse state parliament, and its vice-president, implied that CDU opinion was that "only true Arians should be allowed to vote." He was censured by the parliament president for this outburst.

The CDU repudiated this as a "cynical imputation."

Messinger defended the Greens' draft bill. He said that the bill would remove "the political incapacitation of a considerable minority in the population."

He went on to say that most of the people living in this country who were regarded as "foreigners" were only so regarded because of their passports. For a long time they had become "natives."

The introduction of the foreigners' right to vote would be an invitation to integrate, which would be in the best interests of Germans as well.

Legislators would demonstrate through it that there was "no separation of citizens into first and second class."

Foreigners would become a factor in politics and have to be taken earnestly and their interests would then be considered seriously.

The constitutional objections that the other three parties in the state parliament had raised were not valid, Messinger said.

The Greens want the expression "People" used in Basic Law to be understood as the description of an "open, dynamic society" to which foreigners belong.

In his view the introduction of voting rights for foreigners had long been overdue from a social and political viewpoint.

Whether this right can be introduced will be primarily a political, not a legal question.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 21 August 1986)

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opleptic strokes before complaints occur.

Professor Rudolf Pichlmayr (Hanover) pointed out the successes in the transplantation of organs, which are mainly due to improvement in the fight against the repulsion of alien organs.

Today's success rate for kidney transplants is roughly 80 per cent.

The success rate for an early transplantation of the liver, i.e. before the patient is taken to an intensive care unit, can also be as high as 80 per cent.

The longest period anyone has survived a liver transplant is ten years in the Federal Republic of Germany and over fifteen years in the USA.

Pichlmayr stressed that the consent provisions for relatives of persons who have died should be extended to enable more donations of organs.

The USA is way ahead of the Federal Republic in this respect.

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 23 August 1986)

# Survey finds that most aliens are in Germany to stay

For political and economic reasons few of the four million foreigners living in West Germany are likely to return to their homelands in the immediate future.

According to a survey of 6,100 foreigners conducted by the Employment Ministry a half intend to remain in this country for ever or at least for many years to come. Thirty-three per cent of those questioned were undecided.

Foreigners who say they eventually intend to return home are indulging in temporary nostalgia, according to the survey. Only 15.8 per cent of all those questioned indicated a definite year when they would return.

There are currently 4.43 million foreigners in the Federal Republic, seven per cent of the population. Turks account for 1.4 million of the total.

Despite financial assistance to foreigners who wish to return home there has been a slight increase in the total of foreigners in the country compared with 1985.

The composition of the total has shifted. In 1980 there were more than two million foreigners in work in this country. Five years later this figure had reduced to 1.54 million.

Although foreign workers have returned home the figure has been evened out by those workers remaining in this country who have brough in their families to join them.

The survey shows that 59 per cent of foreigners live in this country longer than ten years, and 81 per cent over five.

Wolfgang Voigt, parliamentary state secretary at the Employment Ministry, regards the survey as confirmation that considerable progress has been made in foreigner integration.

Figures show that 83 per cent of foreign children attend German schools — in 1980 it was 68 per cent — and almost 52 per cent have completed the secondary modern school course.

The survey revealed that 86 per cent of foreigners have a satisfactory to good command of the German language, and 52 per cent meet German friends in their leisure time. Of those questioned 82 per cent said their contacts with Germans were good. According to the study 29 per cent of the foreigners working in this country are unskilled, 17.8 per cert are skilled workers, three per cent are master craftsmen and 10.4 per cent are white-collar workers.

Turks account for 35 per cent of the unskilled, followed by Yugoslavs who make up 20 per cent of the total.

Promotion chances have not improved. Germans are generally given jobs with the best pay possibilities, the least strain and the least risk of dismissal.

The average net hourly wage paid to foreigners is DM13.99, according to the survey, about 14.5 per cent less than the net wage of all workers. The average monthly pay after deductions of a foreign worker is about DM1,710, about 11 per cent lower.

According to the survey 55.2 per cent of Italians, 50 per cent of the Spanish and 41 per cent of the Turkish young people have troubled to look for a job.

Among the Yugoslavs, always ready to learn, 76 per cent have found a trainee job. Among the Turks only 39 per cent.

It emerged from the survey that many had only come to the country in the last few years and had attended school for only a short period.

The most important reason [illegible] those questioned in the su[illegible] remaining in the country, offered by 20.6 per cent, was that they had a sense of well-being here. This explanation was given by 27 per cent of the Italians and 17.8 per cent of Turks.

The second most common reason, given by 17.8 per cent of those taking part in the survey, was unemployment in their home countries.

The survey showed that 10.9 per cent of those questioned sent their children to school.

A half of the foreigners said they would not object if their sons or daughters married Germans, but in a breakdown by nationalities only a third of Turks took this attitude.

Only six per cent of all foreigners expressed the intention of taking out West German nationality.

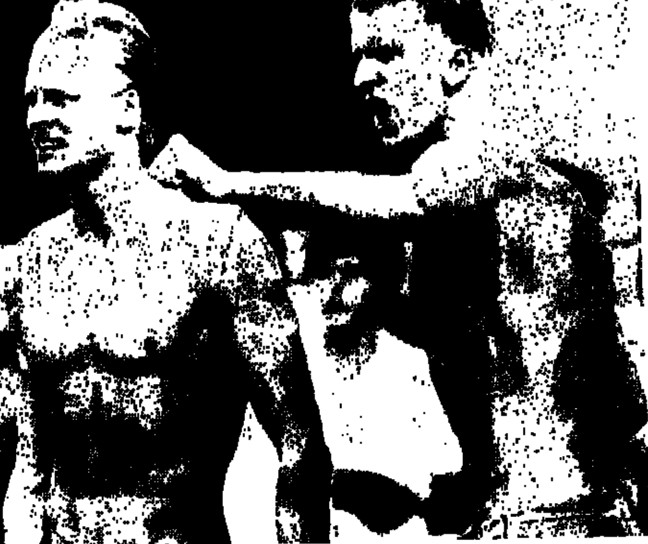
(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 8 August 1986)



■ SPORT

# New male swimming star emerges but women steal world title show

**East German women set five of the six world records at the world swimming championships in Madrid. But there were no records in the men's events. Several of the male swimmers indicated that less-than-brilliant performances were, in some cases, caused by slight injuries or because local food had upset them. The West German men did well. Michael Gross won the gold medals in the 200 metres freestyle and the 200 metres butterfly. He was second to another West German, Rainer Henkel in the 400 metres freestyle. Henkel went on to win the 1,500 metres freestyle as well. Henkel, fastest man over 400 metres this year with 3:48.3, won in 3:50.5. American Dan Jorgensen was third. The games appear to mark the decline of Vladimir Salnikov, of the Soviet Union, who is the only swimmer ever to break 15 minutes for the 1,500 metres freestyle. He could only manage fifth in the 400 metres freestyle and fourth in the 1,500 metres. It was his first loss in 62 1,500-metres freestyle races. The best individual performance in Madrid was by East German Kristin Otto, 20, who won four gold medals and two silver medals. She set a world record for the 100-metre freestyle. In this article for the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, Bianka Schreiber-Rietig looks at West Germany's new male swimming star, Rainer Henkel.**



Four gold medals between them. Henkel (left) and Gross. (Photo: Horstmüller)

Rainer Henkel was being hailed as a new world champion as he stood, surrounded by press and well-wishers immediately after stepping off the winner's dais after his 400-metres win in the world swimming championships in Madrid.

How ironic it was that the day before, Henkel had come under fire for his performance in the 4 x 200metres relay in which West Germany (Henkel, Gross, Schovtra and Fahrner) were squeezed out by East Germany (Hinneberg, Flemming, Richter and Lodziewski) by five 100ths of a second.

The self-confidence he exuded as he spoke (bronze medal winner Dan Jorgensen, of the United States, stood in as interpreter and translated it all into English) made him quite believeable when he said: "I didn't fear any of my opponents. I swim races for me and I give it my all."

His lack of self doubt is why he doesn't allow anything to shake him. For example, the business of the relay race. "I know I made a hash of it. But anyone who says I was saving myself, taking it easy, is talking rubbish. They need their heads read."

At the third question on the topic, he rolled his eyes in exasperation. Was it weighing him down psychologically? He replied curtly: "No."

For a long time, the 22-year-old from Cologne was an also ran who was regarded as little more than a good relay swimmer.

The change hapened last year when he began to introduce more training work to build up his strength. he managed to knock six seconds off his best 400 metres time.

Henkel is in the army until 1988. The army had given him good opportunities to train. He would not be able to swim so well if he were not in the army.

When he came third in the 400 metres at the European championships in Sofia this year, he announced that he would win the world championship in Madrid. He has.

He worked tenaciously towards his goal with trainer Gerhard Hetz. His progress was evident at the German championships in Hanover at the end of June when he swam 3:48.3, the fastest time this year and slower only that Michael Gross's world mark of 3:47.8.

Henkel was not satisfied with his winning time of 3:50.5 in Madrid but, "it's the place you finish in, not the time which counts."

He used to have a low opinion of tactics, but swimming at this level, you can't get far without them, and that's something that trainer Hetz has worked on.

*Bianka Schreiber-Rietig*

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 23 August 1986)

# International athletics body to take tough line on drugs

**The International Amateur Athletic federation has decided to allow professionals from other sports to compete in athletics. The decision was made at a meeting of the IAAF in Stuttgart before the European championships. It was also decided in principle that any competitor positively tested for drugs at the 1988 Olympic Games would be barred for at least four years and perhaps for life. It was decided not to introduce a ban from next year's world championships. In the Stuttgart event, Great Britain and the Soviet Union were the most successful nations.**

The European athletic championships in Stuttgart were another crossroads where sport, politics and business met. Chancellor Kohl declared in a speech to the International Amateur Athletic Federation that people were the centrepoint of sport and that neither politics nor money should be allowed to assume a dominant role.

Timely and appropriate though his warning is, at a major event such as this, it is irrelevent.

It is no use pretending otherwise: these championships would not have been possible without the blessing of the politicians. Politics is everywhere. It has been since, at the latest, the boycotted Soviet Games of 1980 and the likewise boycotted Los Angeles Games four years later.

These 14th European championships comprise the biggest sports event in this country since the war after the Olympic Games in Munich in 1972 and the World association football championships in 1974.

They would not have been possible without the involvement of commerce: commerce has known for a long time how profitable sport can be. About 12.5 million marks in the end will have been spent in Stuttgart.

It is no coincidence that the control of advertising was one of the most important items on the world body's agenda.

This has been the first test of sporting power between East and West since Helsinki in 1983. That's why the Soviet Union sent the numerically strongest team and the East Germans have sent one with the strongest medal-winning potential.

No other form of sport brings together into such a confined space such a great variety of performers with different skills as does athletics.

No other sport has such a variety of high performance skills: the spectacular virtuosity of the pole vaulter; the mixture of technique and power in the shot putt and discus; the tactically demanding track events; the stamina and courage in the marathon. There are many more.

And the spectators: they are far more than mere consumers. They are like players in a huge orchestra. A championship without spectators would be unthinkable: their applause for an also-ran who gets a medal; their reactions as favourites win or fail.

Contenders for the 129 medals in 43 disciplines included dozens of world record holders, Olympic gold-medal winners and European champions.

One thing is certain: people who enjoyed the various events without worrying about which country was doing best had a whale of a time.

*Jutta Deiss*

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 23 August 1986)







Stuttgart action: from left, Klaus Tafelmeier (West Germany) on his way to a gold medal in the javelin; Harald Schmid (West Germany) left, winning the 400-metre hurdles gold medal; and Jürgen Hingsen, (West Germany), left, and Daley Thompson (Britain), the gold medallist, in the decathlon 110-metre hurdles. (Photos: dpa 2, AP)